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Hungary's Kovacs Sees Encouraging Signs for FRY

LD2708145895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1408 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Aug. 27 (TANJUG)—Hungarian Foreign Minister and Chairman of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Laszlo Kovacs has said that there are finally encouraging signs that the Yugoslav crisis can be resolved peacefully.

A report in the Hungarian daily VASARNAPI HIREK on Sunday said Kovacs was thinking of the cease-fire agreement between the Croatian and Serb Krajina Armies for the region of eastern Slavonia, which opened greater possibilities for a political agreement.

Kovacs reiterated that it was very important for Hungary to preserve a neutral stand in the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Tighter control of the border belt in the country's south, especially toward the region of Baranja, is aimed at protecting the population from a possible attack, but also to prevent any of the sides from using Hungarian territory or air space, Kovacs said.

Speaking about the settling of Serb refugees from Krajina in Vojvodina, Kovacs said Budapest was ready to start talks with Belgrade at government level in the near future on the position of the Hungarian minority.

The Hungarian minority in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina accounts for about 360,000 of the close to two-million-strong population.

Commentary Views Coming Berisha-Clinton Meeting

AU2508133195 Tirana TRIBUNA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 16 Aug 95 p 3

[Commentary by Arben Cejku: "No Place for Neocommunism in U.S. Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a few days from now President Berisha will be received by President Clinton in the White House. From the day when the official invitation was extended until now, many events have taken place which have certainly been reflected in the agenda of the two presidents' meeting. This time Clinton will receive his Albanian counterpart who comes from a country engulfed in the flames of the Balkan war. In this context the meeting between the two presidents assumes special importance. Unlike his first visit to Washington, this time, President Berisha is expected to discuss with the U.S. President more cardinal and acute issues. While during his first visit Berisha had to ask for more support by the U.S. Government for the victory of democracy in Albania, this time it seems that the talks will center on the tense situation in the Balkans, whose developments depend inevitably on the Albanian factor and the U.S. stand.

U.S. support in the political, economic, and military fields for the progress of democratic reforms in Albania led by the Democratic Party has been on the rise. This friendly support has helped overcome the crisis the Albanian Government had to cope with to implement its policy to liberalize Albania in the economic, political, and military fields and integrate it into the European family. It seems that after the return of communists to power in several former communist countries, the Americans have shown greater attention to Albania, and their support has been all-around. After considering the bad example of the return of communists to power in several eastern countries, it is sure that the Americans will not welcome a return of the fanatical Albanian communists to power at a time when the democratic reforms are progressing. No one likes the return of communists to power, particularly when they bring back the former laws. No one wants the reisolation of Albania; neither do the Americans. The support President Bush gave to the Democratic Party to win against the communists was followed in practice by President Clinton. This linear policy has also been pursued by the United States toward Kosova.

Kosova is the barrier against which the frenzied rush of Slav nationalism should come to a halt. This is also the U.S. official position. The escalation of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, between Karadjic's Serb Army and Tudjman's Croatian Army and Izetbegovic's forces, has increased the danger of the conflict spreading all over the Balkans.

The contradictory attitudes of the international community and the disregard for the ceasefire agreements are fraught with the danger of further escalation of the conflict, in which the refugees are playing a new role now. Their violent installation in Kosova is considered a realization of the Serb colonialist policy there. This has been severely condemned by both the U.S. and Albanian Governments. New developments in this direction will define further attitudes toward them. The Berisha-Clinton meeting in September will influence these attitudes.

Albania, the country which has avoided tension in the region, though half of its nation is occupied by the Serb tanks, has so far set the best example of how to work for peace. On the other hand, it has not and will not allow Kosova to be colonized by Serbs. A possible conflict in Kosova would mark the beginning of the dramatic destabilization of the Balkans. How to avoid this conflict and find new ways for the solution of the Kosova problems will be one of the strongest issues on the agenda of Berisha-Clinton meeting.

Those who try to minimize the importance of President Berisha's visit to the United States have other missions. Their attempts to build the importance of this meeting round contrived issues such as the "Nano case," are futile behind-the-scenes attempts, aiming at avoiding the cardinal issues that our nation faces today. They are the same mourners who raised a hue and cry in the lobbies of Europe until they succeeded in delaying Albania's membership in the EU. Today they are trying to raise other barriers of the Nano kind to leave the most important issues out of the Clinton-Berisha talks. We remind them that there are a lot of important issues to be discussed before the "Nano case."

Those who, through this issue, are trying to send the "ambassador" of the left front to the Clinton administration so as to draw U.S. attention to the Albanian left will fail because diabolical communist tricks do not enjoy U.S. support. Hard work and devotion to democracy do.

On the other hand, it is a known fact that the United States has not agreed with Belgrade's colonizing stand. The Americans do not swallow easily the secret visits between the Albanian and Serb leftists. The covert meetings and communist alliances between the Albanian and Serb socialist parties are no guarantee for the United States that tomorrow the Albanian left will have a positive influence on the country and the region. After 50 years of listening to it, the U.S. officials have again heard the anti-Americanism of the former

Albanian communists, which was also expressed in the legislature. More than anti-Americanism, the position of the Albanian socialists was in unison with the Albanian extreme left, which does not like the U.S. presence, not only in Albania but also in the Balkans. This is the same attitude of the Belgrade officials. So the journalists of the leftist media cry out in vain to minimize the importance of Berisha's visit to Washington. Berisha is going to Washington as the president who has successfully led his own people during the democratic reforms, thus setting the example of a country that knows how to work for peace.

Berisha Excludes Opposition From Ceremony

AU2808120895 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 23 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Martin Leka, Andi Bushati: "Berisha Dons the Uniform of a 'Nationalist Foot Soldier'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While peace in the Balkans is still remote and war remains a dangerous threat to the peoples of the region, thanks to the obstinacy of the warring sides, the political "vacation" in Albania continues.

At the same time, a great wave of refugees wanders in search of temporary or permanent shelter. Albanian citizens, too, see every day the wretched scenes of refugees, because they are drawing near Albania's borders. Belgrade Television shows every night the fertile plains of Kosova and the Plain of Dukagjin, offered with free credit, with houses and agricultural equipment. TANJUG also reports that there is no more room for refugees in Vojvodina and calls on the columns of refugees to set off for Kosova, to Peje, Prishtina, Mitrovice, Prizren, etc. It is now perfectly clear that for the Serbs the appropriate moment for the colonization of Kosova has come. B. Morina, the Yugoslav minister for refugees, said in Athens yesterday that "only a relatively small number" of the Serbian refugees from Krajina, who total 160,000 in all, will be settled in Kosova. War is thus both close and distant. The Balkans are caught in a fatal equivocation between general war and peace.

Meanwhile Albanian politics are conducted in "fog." It seems that only one person conducts politics—President Berisha. He rouses all Albanian politics into action. He speaks for hours on end at a conference of the Tirana Democratic Party [PD] and calls the alternative of the opposition party hostile, even though thousands of Albanians stand behind this alternative and tomorrow will vote for it. All the mass media and the politicians chew on Berisha's words according to their own judgment. There is never any dialogue. Marx has been mentioned over and over again recently by Berisha and the PD perhaps more than at any time in the last 50 years. He has been turned into a "cannonball" against the Socialist Party [PS]. A paradox? It would be better to ban the alternatives that "constitute a major threat and danger..." The announcement of the new doctrine of the security and defense of the Republic of Albania two days ago was an important moment. Berisha invited senior servicemen and ministers of his party to the presidency, while his opposition "brothers" were absent. Bearing in mind where our country stands at the moment, a dialogue over such major issues with the opposition and with all political forces would be a noble act of peace and political morality. The announcement of the document would be a chance for Berisha to stand up against himself and against his party-mindedness. All this would be to everybody's benefit, including that of Berisha himself.

Mr. Neritan Ceka, president of the Democratic Alliance, responding to Berisha's failure to invite the opposition to the announcement of the document on security and defense, preferred to put it succinctly, "As far as military matters are concerned, Berisha doesn't want us. He's said as much." Mr. Skender Gjinushi, the Social Democratic leader, responded with similar sarcasm. "It seems that we of the opposition have been put on lists. They will intern us one by one, and they themselves will defend the country." Despite the ironic comments of opposition leaders, one thing is clear: If the Albanian president has not made a habit of inviting the political parties to discuss the country's major problems, he has a greater reason than ever to do so now. Now, when the fatal conflict of the Balkans is shifting in the direction of Kosova, the Albanian president has a great opportunity to seize the banner of nationalism. Berisha declared, on announcing the security and defense document, "We must secure the credible defense of the country, elevating our armed forces to such modern and professional standards that will compel any aggressor to abandon any adventure in the direction of the Albanians' Albania." Perhaps Berisha thinks that he can don the uniform of a nationalist foot soldier before the election campaign, as the only unplayed card in his hand to throw in front of the Albanians. As always, he has decided to take sole responsibility for this, with all the risk of loss and hope of victory this involves. So far, it is all old hat, but perhaps the future holds a different fate.

Editorial: Balkan States Trust U.S. Mediation

AU2808105295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 27 Aug 95 p 1

[Editorial: "The United States Pours Water on the Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The governments of the countries bordering on the former Yugoslavia share the same opinion on one point: The conflict must not spread to their territory, especially in the south of the Balkans, i.e. to Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. Politicians are warning of the dangers of an escalation of the crisis and of cross-border wars. Is the ice melting in the southern Balkans?

Deutsche Welle political commentator Rojnalld Majnadu [name as published] has said, "There is no lack of possible flashpoints of war round the geographical territory of the former Yugoslavia. The most important are the Greek-Albanian quarrel over the minority, the issue of Kosova, the problem of Macedonia, and the conflict between the NATO members Greece and Turkey. There have recently been increasing signs that U.S. diplomacy, with its sensational initiative in the former Yugoslavia, is trying to calm down the conflict area. In one case, the mediating efforts of the United States have met with success."

One year ago, Albanian-Greek relations underwent a serious crisis because of the Greek minority in the south of Albania. In the meantime, bilateral relations have blossomed again. Ministerial visits come one after another. At the end of last week, the two Balkan neighbors concluded a juridical agreement. The Albanian foreign minister will visit Greece on 31 August and it is planned that the Greek president will pay a state visit to Tirana soon, in the autumn. The targeted interventions by the Americans in Tirana and Athens have influenced the rapprochement between the two states. In the background, the U.S. diplomats are also pulling strings over the question of Macedonia. Reliable sources in Athens forecast a success for U.S. mediation in the frozen talks between Athens and Skopje. While the U.S. special envoy Mesio Niles, in separate talks with parties in the conflict, is preparing the ground for compromise, leading politicians of Greece and Macedonia, in their interviews given to newspapers, stress their determination to achieve a political compromise. However, old hostilities in the Balkans cannot be quenched overnight. The Skopje Government, as it consolidates its position in a hostile geographical area, has found support not only from the United States. In spring, the Macedonians signed a military cooperation pact with Turkey, a very unpleasant thing in Greek eyes. Following the conclusion of military and political agreements between Ankara and Albania and Bulgaria, the government in Athens has been openly warning of an encirclement staged by Turkey. If Greece, for its part, is trying to expand its relations with its northern neighbors, it is doing this in order to head off Turkey's growing influence in the Balkans. This example alone indicates how fraught Greek-Turkish relations are, nor do there appear to be any signs of relaxation of tension. Talks to solve the problem of Cyprus failed months ago, and there is no serious initiative to resume them. The Turkish Government continually threatens war over the question of the Aegean if the Greeks extend their territorial waters from 6 to 12 miles. Friction on NATO's southeast wing is causing a major headache to Washington's senior strategists, because the hostility in this region is between two allies armed to the teeth with Western weaponry. U.S. presidents have continually sent diplomatic mediators to NATO's delicate southeast wing. It is not long since Bill Clinton warned the Greeks and the Turks that Washington is committed to stability in the region. This warning was not carried away by the wind. George Stefanopoulos, the president's adviser who is of Greek origin, has been traveling to the three corners of the Greek-Turkey-Cypriot triangular conflict. The politicians of the countries concerned take a serious view of the visits from the United States. When it is a matter of solving problems among themselves, Ankara and Nicosia trust the Americans much more than the Europeans of the EU, because it is not only over the conflict in Yugoslavia that Europe has shown that it speaks in many tongues and does little in action. The EU has not come forward at all as a political mediator in the southern Balkans.

PS Leaders Reject 'Anti-American' Charges

AU2708131795 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 19 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Altin Hazizaj: "Berisha in the United States, the Socialist Party in the Embassy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday's meeting between U.S. Ambassador Joseph Lake and Servet Pellumbi and Ilir Meta, two deputy chairmen of the Socialist Party [PS], lasted more than three hours. At 1000 yesterday morning, Meta and Pellumbi went to the U.S. Embassy, where they were received by a number of diplomats, including Ambassador Lake, who had asked for this meeting. All the officials then entered the ambassador's office, and only emerged three hours and five minutes later.

None of the participants agreed to comment after the end of the meeting, but PS Deputy Chairman Meta admitted that "Many delicate issues in Albanian politics were broached and there was understanding on all the problems."

Moreover, Mr. Karl Siebentritt [name as published], political secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Tirana had lunch at 1300 with Bashkim-Zeneli, another member of the PS Presidium, immediately after the meeting with Meta and Pellumbi. Mr. Siebentritt arrived 15 minutes late at this lunch, because of his presence at the earlier meeting. "The meeting with Mr. Siebentritt was a normal working meeting that he himself requested. Such meetings between politicians and diplomats are normal. It is not the first time that we have met U.S. diplomats here in Tirana," Zeneli emphasized for KOHA JONE.

Asked how he could rebut the charges of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE that "the Albanian Socialists are anti-American," Mr. Pellumbi replied, "When U.S. diplomats are not worried about this and do not consider us as such, then we, the PS, need not worry about attacks at home."

"We think that all Albanians, not just the Democratic Party [PD], want good relations with the United States. We are pleased that the Albanian Government is also initiating valuable exchanges with the United States. We are not in the least jealous of this. If we come to power, relations with the United States can only develop further," Zeneli commented.

Meanwhile the attacks by the PD and RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE against the Socialists continue to grow, In yesterday's edition, the newspaper accused Servet Pellumbi of being anti-American and conservative. However, nobody within the PS has yet responded to this accusation. It seems that the leaders were waiting for yesterday's meeting at the U.S. Embassy.

What did Pellumbi, Meta, and Lake discuss for more that three hours? Of course, they did not ask one another where they spent their vacations, because this would be a waste of time. It is thought that at this meeting they must have discussed the Nano case, which penetrated the White House some time ago. U.S. Ambassador Lake's meeting with Alush Dragoshi, the Albanian procurator-general, reinforces this idea. This is the first time that an ambassador has met Albania's procurator-general.

It is thought that another issue that may have been discussed at both meetings was the PS's attitude to its communist past. All these things happened some time before the visit of Albanian President Berisha to the United States and his meeting with President Clinton. In the final analysis, U.S. Ambassador Lake works not for the Albanian Government, but for that of the United States.

'Infiltrated' U.S. Embassy

AU2708131895 Tirana TRIBUNA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 22 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Emin Lesi: "Political Salesmen and Visa Salesmen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last Friday [18 August] two prominent leaders of the Socialist Party [PS] infiltrated the U.S. Embassy. After remaining behind the embassy fence for several hours, A. Hazizaj of KOHA JONE was able to prise an unfounded statement out of Ilir Meta, PS deputy chairman and chairman of the Eurosocialist Youth Forum. Before arriving back at his newspaper's offices, Hazizaj held out for a few more hours, sniffing the aroma of the dishes at an imaginary lunch between B. Zeneli and K. Siebentritt [name as published].

The efforts on the part of KOHA JONE's journalist to produce a major sensation brought him to the opposite shore not only sodden, but mud-spattered. In the case in question, young Hazizaj's Socialist idealism has exceeded the bounds of reality, and he has presented to the reader an ordinary case of a visa application as a major working meeting at which great matters were decided.

A problem of visas or some other business matter, not an official meeting as KOHA JONE has described, brought the PS's two main leaders to the doors of the U.S. Embassy. Because of its "independence," KOHA JONE has here surpassed even ZERI I POPULLIT, which has not dared to go to such extremes of imaginative insanity.

We have all witnessed a turnabout on the part of the Socialists in their attitude to the United States and also their efforts to correct their anti-Americanism. This is only a propaganda bubble, compared with the PS's anti-American policies. It suffices to mention here that the Socialists with their Marx do not normally darken the door of the U.S. Embassy. However, three days are not enough to persuade the Americans that the Marxists have turned into anti-Marxists who deserve three or four U.S. visas.

We still do not know whether ZERI I POPULLIT has reported this "important" meeting, but it is thought that the name of editor in chief Gellci does not figure on the list of those applying for visas. It is not believed that the clans within the PS can have put Pellumbi and Meta in their places so quickly. As for the time of more than three hours spent by the two Socialist leaders on the territory of the U.S. Embassy, this was because they were obliged to wait in line for a long time.

Those who are used to trading not only in visas, but also in politics, apparently tried once to knock at the door of their "enemy" of 50 years standing. Even if they did have the courage to knock at the gates of the United States, why did they not at least leave Marx and Enver outside? Pellumbi's efforts to deliver a lecture on "humane Marxism" on the premises of the U.S. Embassy were in vain.

This pupil of the Cupi school did not have the success of his teacher, who spins an article out of every fantasy [reference to KOHA JONE commentator Frrok Cupi]. But crazy leaders get crazy reporters.

Police Seize Cargo Ship With 12 Stowaways

AU2508174995 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Durres border police blocked an Albanian private cargo ship named Ialdo with 12 Albanians hiding aboard.

Artan Kalaja, the head of the Durres District Police Commissariat, told ATA that seven crew members had been detained, of whom four had been arrested, and the relevant documentation to sequester the ship had been drafted. Sources from the District Police Commissariat report that this is the first case of a private cargo ship being detained for committing illegal acts.

Pirinski Gives Ioannina Summit Stance on Balkans

AU2808105595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski has concluded his visit to Greece, where he met with the Greek and Romanian foreign ministers. As Minister Pirinski stated on his arrival in Sofia, the trilateral meeting examined the possibilities for wider and more beneficial cooperation and the general political situation in the Balkans. Here is what Minister Pirinski had to say about how the three ministers view the Yugoslav conflict.

[Begin Pirinski recording] Regarding the final document, I consider that three points are worth pointing out:

First, all three parties absolutely reject any idea of settling the conflict by military means, the so-called military option, something that certain parties are reportedly thinking about at the moment, unfortunately.

Second, all three countries strongly commit themselves to supporting both the efforts of the contact group as a whole and, so to speak, the individual factors that are trying to achieve such a solution, such as the representatives of the European Union, the Americans, and the Russians. In my view, countries like our own can hardly seek their own initiatives; rather, they should do their best to support the initiatives that at the moment have some chance of success in achieving a peaceful solution.

The third aspect, which is very well known but I will nevertheless repeat because certain people are still struggling to understand it, all three countries confirmed their understanding that the movement toward a political solution should proceed in parallel with the move toward lifting the sanctions. It is not a question of a unilateral lifting of the sanctions by our countries; it should not be an isolated act, but one taken in the context of the efforts to achieve a lasting containment of the situation on a just basis. As long as the sanctions remain in force, this cannot be achieved. [end of recording]

Colonels Charged With Diverting Arms to Serbia

AU2508171395 Paris AFP in English 1652 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Aug 25 (AFP)—Three high-ranking Bulgarian soldiers were charged here Friday [25 August] with diverting $670,000 worth of arms to Serbia two years ago, the supreme court announced.

Colonel Valentin Popinski, head of the defence ministry's commercial department, his assistant Colonel Stoian Tsakov and Lieutenant Colonel Nikolai Nikolov, an interior ministry official in charge of monitoring arms deliveries, were all charged with "diplomatic treason."

They were also charged with diverting funds and illegally trading arms and ammunition, public prosecutor Mitio Markov said.

The men face between 10 and 30 years in jail if convicted of the offences, which were allegedly committed in November 1993.

The three men were supposed to have provided the Albanian Defence Ministry with 100 mine launchers as well as 1,000 mines and ammunition.

The consignment—to be transported to Albania in lorries—was "lost" in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which borders Serbia to the south.

According to the Bulgarian daily newspaper, STANDART, the military prosecutor has a contract signed by Popinski and the Serbian private firm Target for the delivery of the same cargo.

Via Interpol the Bulgarian authorities have been looking for the carrier Mario Stoichkov, who disappeared after Serbian customs officers confiscated $670,000 from him which he had not declared at the border between Serbia and Bulgaria, Standart reported.

The UN Security Council imposed an arms embargo against Serbia in 1991.

Foreign Minister Views Relations With Germany

AU2708180895 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Emilie Harantova and Jana Bendova in Prague; date not given: "The Settlement Cannot Depend on Changes in Government, Zieleniec Says"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec is convinced that there are no marked differences between the coalition and the opposition regarding the text of the declaration by the Czech Republic and Germany, which is to become a political full stop to the past.

[Zieleniec] The differences in opinion are not significant either within the coalition or between the coalition and the opposition. We have repeatedly and publicly declared the limits within which the Czech policy can move. During the negotiations, however, it is not wise to state them aloud. At any event, any casting of doubts on our legal code is not acceptable.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Critical voices have been heard, however, following the talks between Vaclav Klaus and Bavarian Minister President Stoiber, claiming that the prime minister wants to bypass the parliament, and thereby also the opposition, in the preparation of the Czech-German declaration.

[Zieleniec] I believe that the very nature of the settlement process, a turn in our relations towards the future requires that the entire political spectrum be involved in the process. Any historical settlement, if it is to be of lasting effect, must not depend on changes in government. Moreover, the distribution of political views concerning this problem in the Czech Republic and in Germany clearly shows that a broad approach to the solution is beneficial to the issue, and any attempt at outmaneuvering the opposition or any pursuit of partisan or other advantages are harmful to the quintessence, to what is happening in this country.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] According to Jiri Dienstbier, by meeting with Stoiber, the prime minister let himself for the third time be maneuvered into a misalliance, when he talks not with Kohl but rather with his commissioners. Does the danger exist that the Czech-German talks would move from the Prague-Bonn axis to the Prague-Munich axis?

[Zieleniec] The reactions to this meeting are a result of the supersensitivity given by the anxiety surrounding this issue. Bavaria is a neighboring federal land, and the prime minister certainly communicates also with other German minister-presidents. Of course. It is important to keep the dialogue above all on the level of central governments, and here the federal government is our partner. I hope that talks on the prime ministerial level will follow.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] As recently as two weeks ago, Prime Minister Klaus spoke clearly in favor of the declaration, but after the meeting with Stoiber, he said that the solution to the Czech-German relations will likely be a long-term historical affair and not a quick move. Did the opinion change regarding the significance of the declaration?

[Zieleniec] It is impossible to make a revolution in Czech-German relations. Relations are built over years on both political and economic levels. The proposed declaration should, however, be a political full stop to the past, and is therefore of utmost importance. I consider it essential that a mention is made that legal and political aspects of the past will never again be brought up. Still, we do not have much time. If the Czech-German issue became a part of the election campaign, it would have very bad impact on mutual relations.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] The differences between individual power institutions in Prague—the government and the parliament, the Cernin Palace [Foreign Ministry seat] and the Government Office—have been pointed out even in Germany.

[Zieleniec] I do not see any problem there. If there are differences, they concern political stands and not the coordination.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] The entire process should be concluded in a meeting between Prime Minister Klaus and Federal Chancellor Kohl?

[Zieleniec] That undoubtedly is a keystone of the entire process.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Have their offices been in touch?

[Zieleniec] As far as I know, they are not in contact right now.

Former Official on Prospects of Joining NATO

AU2508203595 Prague EKONOM in Czech 17-23 Aug 95 No 33, pp 45-46

[Article by Antonin Rasek, former Czechoslovak deputy minister of defense: "About NATO as Soberly as Possible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hardly a day passes without some analytical or at least informative article about NATO appearing in the mass media. Tens of thousands of such articles have been published since November 1989. Paradoxically, the more serious articles about

NATO are published, the fewer of such articles we can find about our own army. Is this a coincidence? Not really. Some cynic might say that NATO will probably take care of our defense without us having to worry too much about securing our own defense and about building a combat-ready defensive army. It is as though we found it easier to lay the burden of responsibility for the country's defense on the shoulders of the minister of foreign affairs rather than on society and its institutions at large and on the armed forces, and the army as their core, in particular. Likewise, the impression is created as though NATO had no other worries but to admit us, without even calculating what military contribution to it we represent.

Do We Have a Different Option?

In a pluralistic democracy, this probably cannot be otherwise. Regarding a problem as fundamental as the security of the country and joining a military alliance, a whole gamut of attitudes toward NATO—from expressly positive ones, which are characteristic of the right-of-center parties, to various reservations by centrist and left-wing parties, down to the open rejection of military integration on both extreme poles of the political spectrum—is to be found in our country.

As a matter of fact, public opinion polls provide the very same picture. One-third of citizens usually advocate joining NATO, another third are opposed, and the last third do not have an opinion. One of the causes of this indefinite [nevyhraneny] state of affairs surely is that opinions on this issue are usually expressed by representatives, members, or sympathizers of political parties who usually defend their political programs. Experts hardly ever comment on this matter.

What is more, there are, unfortunately, very few experts. They either had to leave the appropriate Defense Ministry workplaces for strategic management or the Institute for Strategic Studies and do not have much opportunity to follow these issues, or, if they stayed on, they publish only in internal army periodicals and do not acquaint the public with their views out of fear for their social guarantees.

But do we have an alternative other than joining NATO if we want to reinforce our security? Both after [the collapse of the communist regime in] November 1989 and at present, speculations keep appearing about the country's possible neutrality—that is, an effort to follow the example of Switzerland, Sweden, or Austria. This is no doubt an outright ideal notion. If it is being enforced with the aim of saving budget resources spent on the army, however, it is an orientation that misses its target. None of these countries neglects its defense and they all allocate to it formidable financial resources.

The geopolitical argument—that we are situated outside the strategic European directions—does not hold water, either. Of course, the fronts in Europe always led from France, via Germany, Poland, and Ukraine, to Russia, and vice versa. But expansionist states have always secured for themselves safety along the flanks of the main fronts of war. The last to convince us of this truth was Hitler, who, before launching his attack on Poland—that is, in a strategic direction—first occupied our country.

Similarly, it is impossible to rely on the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] or the Western European Union because their military institutionalization is out of the question or not in sight. In the troubled world of the present, security requires [membership in] a military alliance. And, regardless of our political attitude, NATO is still the only such alliance, despite all the problems with which it is itself grappling.

Knock on the Door...

In this situation, we have no choice but to follow the old rule—knock on the door, it will (hopefully) be opened for you! As a matter of fact, this is what even some Western representatives advise us to do because the West cannot fail to react to our efforts without losing face. But, at the same time, in these efforts we should, if not respect, then at least take into consideration the West's limits.

The first is that, even seven years after the breakup of the Warsaw Pact, which, to a certain extent, also marked the end of bipolarity, the North Atlantic alliance has not managed to complete its reconstruction, let alone find a new identity.

The other matter is that, in our interest in NATO, we still rely merely on statements by representatives of the United States and, to a lesser extent, Germany, our immediate neighbor. As far as the United States is concerned, attitudes toward the enlargement of NATO are by no means as unequivocal as we would wish. To a certain extent, there is also an evident shift in the United States' focus of attention away from Europe, toward Asia. Similarly, there are also continuous efforts at isolationism, although it seems that these will be overcome. As far as Germany is concerned, its interest in the enlargement of NATO seems to be weakening, rather than strengthening. The endeavor of some German circles to make the implementation of our integration targets conditional on our pro-German stands definitely cannot evoke enthusiasm in us. And the majority of older citizens absolutely cannot approve of the FRG's efforts to become involved in combat operations on a territory as complex as that of former Yugoslavia, nota bene in an area where the memory of Hitler's soldiers remains vivid. We do not take much interest in the attitudes of the other large NATO member countries—Great Britain, France, Canada, Italy, and Spain—to say nothing of the small countries. What interest can they have in our membership? Do we really monitor the situation intensively, realizing that decisionmaking in NATO is based on equality and requires the consent of all?

Finally, one cannot conceal the fact that Russia is not well disposed toward former Warsaw Pact member states joining NATO. This paradoxical situation was pointedly expressed by Sam Nunn, the influential U.S. senator and member of the Defense and Security Committee: "Are we really going to persuade the East Europeans that we protect them against historical threats, while we are persuading the Russians that NATO's enlargement has nothing in common with Russia as a potential military threat?" At the same time, Nunn makes it clear that, by its hasty enlargement, the Alliance would help provoke on the Russian side threats, against which we want to defend ourselves. Moscow reacts to the situation characteristically: Should NATO expand eastward, we will expand westward.

One Cannot Fail To Take an Interest in Budgetary Costs

Last but not least, it is necessary to consider that the enlargement of NATO will not be a mere political act and will thus be associated with higher budgetary costs on both sides, at least as far as command and communications systems, etc. are concerned. Will the Western states be ready to accept those increased costs, as they once were, under a different security situation, in the case of Turkey or Spain, and will the new members be able to afford this in the first place? And we are not even talking about arms systems, on the compatibility of which NATO did not, and does not, insist. Nevertheless, in the future our reequipment processes will not do without arms and arms systems from the West, which are significantly more expensive than those manufactured domestically or in other postcommunist countries.

Surely, we will never be able to purchase all the most modern weapons systems. Not even the U.S. Army has them in its arsenals in large numbers. An aircraft equipped with the AWACS system, for example, costs around $1 billion and the "invisible" B-2 bomber $600 million (the U.S. Army has eventually ordered only 20 of them, instead of the 130 planned). A state-of-the-art combat aircraft costs $35-40 million, but the next generation will cost a minimum of $50-80 million. If we wanted to have a 65,000-men army with up-to-date equipment, this would require some $450 billion—that is, all our state, private, and personal property, everything on and underneath the earth, which is nonsense. Even a single squadron of the most up-to-date fighter aircraft, including logistical support, would cost, at the very least, the equivalent of the military budget for one year. Even if the sum of 120 billion korunas that has been earmarked for the army's reequipment until the year 2005 may seem astronomical to us, we are not going to buy much for this money. And we are still talking only about our army's reequipment, without regard for whether we are going to join NATO or not. [sentence as published]

It would be rather daring to say accurately now how large a military budget we should have before joining NATO, assuming an army of the planned size. No one will dare say that officially. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to keep this a secret before joining NATO. On the basis of the development of NATO member countries' budgets and military experts' unofficial estimates, military spending can be expected to double. It is possible that a part of these costs will come from the NATO budget. But it is by no means certain that all member countries will want to partly finance the possible enlargement of NATO from their own resources. To do that, the enlargement would have to signify for them an evident reinforcement of their defense.

Are We Really Going To Be a Reinforcement?

Officially, we act as if we were at the head of those who will be admitted first. But are we not, once again, deceiving ourselves into believing something, as so many times in the past? First of all, it cannot remain a secret for NATO representatives that the transformation of our army took place as an unsteered process, dominated by power clashes. It could not take any other course because it never had too clear a concept.

The spontaneous nature of transformation has made itself most seriously felt in the structure of personnel. Once again, this process could not have led to any other end, for objective reasons, when we realize that the newly appointed minister of defense of the newly born state and the new Army of the Czech Republic declared all professional soldiers traitors, regardless of the fact that some of them were born after 1968. At the same time, it is self-evident that no institution can be managed without at least minimal participation [by the staff].

This resulted in spontaneous departures of the most qualified army members and in the structure of military professions being upset. Professional soldiers are made up of several hundred of the most varied professions. The remaining professional soldiers live in a state of permanent social insecurity. This cannot but be reflected in interest in military service, intensity of training, discipline, crime, and extraordinary events. The army's budget is so low that it does not suffice for mere replacement [of discarded equipment]. The deficit in infrastructure, for example, amounts to at least eight billion korunas. Soldiers do not have enough ammunition to reliably master their weapons. There is not enough fuel for training. Our pilots have one-quarter to one-third of NATO pilots' flying hours. The transformation of the air force has ended disastrously. Besides discharging 250 pilots (the training of one pilot used to cost four million korunas, now it costs 20 million), the army has abandoned its best airfield, at Bechyne. It has been decided to get rid of the MiG-29 aircraft without approving either the modernization of MiG-21 aircraft or the purchase of secondhand F-16's.

None of these variants is the most optimal one. But in the military science it holds true that a bad decision is better than no decision at all. In the military science, there exist no optimal solutions. Everyone who followed the decisionmaking processes in the Korean or Vietnamese wars, in Somalia, or, most recently, in Yugoslavia should know that. The world community has never learned to intervene in civil wars with a positive outcome, to say nothing of the fact that the Yugoslav crisis, for example, has already assumed the character of an international civil war. Our UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] soldiers are thus gathering invaluable experience. Unfortunately, we will not be able to keep most of them in the army after their return from the UN forces' operations.

The state of the army is reflected in sparse interest in the military profession. In spite of this, the Ministry of Defense decided to abolish military high schools. Similarly, according to latest reports, it is planning to abolish specialized secondary military schools as well. Only Heaven knows from where the army will draw new professional soldiers, especially if we now bank on the acquisition of professional NCOs instead of warrant officers. During the first republic, the army managed to acquire only one-fifth of the required number of NCOs, at the most. In that situation, the army had to resort to a desperate act and offer this military service to the unemployed.

Do We Have a Solution?

Regardless of whether we join NATO or not, in the future we will have to again seriously ponder the overall security concept (the relatively best security concept, drawn up by the Institute for International Relations, was not accepted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the concept of building the army.

Our army is currently organized as follows: Two ground forces corps (seven mechanized brigades), one tactical air force corps (seven air bases), one air defense corps (two brigades of air-defense rocket troops), one logistics corps, three brigades of radio-technical troops, one rapid deployment brigade, 14 territorial defense brigades, plus other formations, units, and installations of specialized types of troops. In the opinion of some Czech and foreign military experts, it seems that in the future, depending on a certain level of stability of the security situation in Europe and our budget potentials and after a gradual exploitation [exploatace] of weapons systems, the point of gravity should be shifted (with some exceptions, such as the equipment of our air force with Czech-made L-159 combat aircraft, the modernization of tanks, and the like) to the reinforcement of territorial brigades, which will be armed primarily with antitank and air-defense weapons.

Training, too, should be organized accordingly—that is, focus should be shifted to the training of territorial reserves. This would have the effect, among other things, of strengthening soldiers' responsibility for defense because they would be close to their families, friends, homes, and property. Experience from the wars of the second half of the 20th century shows the great effectiveness and relatively low cost-intensiveness of this type of defense. It suffices to observe the situation in Yugoslavia or Chechnya from the military viewpoint to see how difficult it is to apply common military strategy there.

There is no reason to expand the number of NATO skeptics but, equally, there is no reason to neglect the reinforcement of one's own defense. If we are to bang on someone's door, let us bang on our own first!

Parliament Urged To Join Debate on EU

95CH0311B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Jul 95 p 5

[Commentary by Andreas Goetze: "Czech Republic's Turn Is Next"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the recent summit of the European Union (EU) in Cannes, the heads of the governments of EU member countries avoided setting a specific time for accepting new members. But in Warsaw only 10 days later, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl expressed his wish to see Poland become a NATO and EU member by the year 2000. It was a spontaneous statement. This passage did not appear in the prepared text of his speech. Kohl said what the Poles wanted to hear, and they noted it carefully.

In spite of that, Germany must be careful not to rush too much on this issue, and not to have its position diverge too much from the position of the other EU partners. The expansion of EU and NATO must be decided by all the members of both organizations. In Paris they are racking their brains more over what the Germans intend to do in the countries east of their border than on what the intentions of the nations in that area themselves are. It is necessary, therefore, for the question of expanding the EU to be debated by politicians in all the capitals of a united Europe. It is not enough to wait for the intergovernmental conference next year, and only then seek acceptance. If Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians want to become members as soon as possible, they must influence, even today, the debate within the EU—and thus also the results of the conference.

The Poles understood this, and they are making themselves heard in Europe. That is also why they decided to cooperate with the Germans on this point. The prerequisite for that was to overcome the dark shadows from their common, often painful, past.

Debate about EU membership is following a somewhat different course in the Czech Republic. The Czech government decided to influence the transformation of its economy by means of the exchange rate of its own currency to a far greater degree than Poland. Early membership in EU, which wants to introduce common currency in 1999, takes away from "individual member countries one very important instrument of economic policy," as Vaclav Klaus explained in his article in LIDOVE NOVINY. Klaus wrote, further: "For if the exchange rate cannot be adjusted, then the real wages or the unemployment rate must be adjusted, and that is not easy, and not at all navigable politically." When reading such statements the question arises: Isn't joining the EU by the year 2000 too soon for the Czech Republic? After all, the Poles are relying much less then the Czechs on influencing their own economic policy by means of the exchange rate of their currency.

In the Czech Republic EU membership is often understood as a protective mechanism against a dominant German influence on its own economy. On the other hand, many refer to the EU as Germany's means for promoting its own interests. It then becomes rather difficult to form a common approach by the Czechs and Germans to European politics. Another obstacle are the bilateral relations, where different views of common history are still strongly dominant. However, Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland shows that everything is possible. Kohl's visits to the Netherlands, Israel, and now Warsaw prove that Germany has the will to conciliate. Now it is the Czech Republic's turn. After Havel's ceremonial speech this February, there has been a certain change on the German side. A joint statement in the parliament could be a good opportunity for the chancellor's visit to Prague. But it is up to the Czech parliament whether it can continue on the road to which politicians like Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Klaus, and Milan Uhde pointed in the past weeks. There is still time left before the parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic. Clearing up the Czech-German misunderstanding would certainly have a positive influence on the discussions about the Czech Republic's membership in the EU.

Coming Mergers, Closures of Military Schools

AU2708180995 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 24 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "fp": "The Army Will Prepare a 'Defense University'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—"Military education was built for an army of 250,000 men, but our target strength is 65,000 at most," Major General Zdenek Zezula, head of the Department of Personnel and Education at the Czech Defense Ministry, told us in explanation of the military education concept.

The transformation of the system of military education, which is an inseparable part of the transformation of the Czech Army into an army of a new type, assumes "balanced relations with civilian education." This means that the civilian schools together with the military schools both domestic and foreign, military education centers, and extension institutions will form the bearing pillar of army education. The implementation of this concept will require, according to Zezula, a merger of the three military academies into a single institution, the so-called Defense University. Upon approval of the relevant law by the president of the Czech Republic, the Brno Military Academy, the Hradec Kralove Military Medical School, and the Vyskov Infantry Troops Academy will be integrated into this institution.

By order of the defense minister, military high schools in Prague and Opava will be closed down on 1 October 1995, and the military high school in Moravska Trebova on 1 October 1996. Furthermore, military high schools in Vyskov and Brno and the military nursing school in Hradec Kralove will be reorganized. The purpose of the changes in military education is to "create a flexible system capable of responding to the demands of military practice and pivotal points of military careers."

Wage Regulation Expected To End in 1995

95CH0289B Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 May 95 p 1

[Article by "tma": "The Days of Wage Regulation Are Already Clearly Numbered"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague (tma)—With the greatest of probabilities, wage regulation will not survive the end of this year although it is not clear who will propose its abolition. Two ministers on whose views this is most dependent, Ivan Kocarnik and Jindrich Vodicka, believe it is no longer necessary to regulate wages. However, neither one of them is preparing a proposal for this step to be submitted to the government because each minister is convinced that such a decision lies within the jurisdiction of the other. "The solution to this problem falls within the jurisdiction of Minister Vodicka and I do not wish to interfere in his department," stated Ivan Kocarnik, minister of finance. He added that, in his opinion, wage regulation is now more likely to lead to increased wages than to retarding wage growth. "I have a strong feeling that a wrong notion is being formed. The growth of 5 percent over the inflationary limit, which regulation allows, is beginning to be perceived not as an upper limit but as an entitlement for everyone. I am therefore not convinced that regulation continues to make any kind of sense," stated Kocarnik. He added that he has now voted for its abolition within the government.

Not even Jindrich Vodicka, minister of labor and social affairs, feels competent to propose the termination of regulation to the government. "If I were to be asked to work out some kind of part of the appropriate report—say, primarily the portion dealing with the imposition of fines—of course, I would do so without delay, but inflationary impacts and other aspects fall within the jurisdiction of Minister Kocarnik and the central bank," he said. He also mentioned that if this question were to be discussed now within the cabinet, he would vote to abolish regulation.

The central bank does not see a reason to abolish regulation, for the present. "However, it is clear that this is a temporary measure; and as the economy grows, the reasons for its introduction are disappearing," said Martin Svehla, central bank spokesman. That is why, in Svehla's opinion, regulation should no longer be a factor, starting next year.

Wage regulation was introduced two years ago as a reaction to the relatively rapid rise in wages and rising consumer prices at the time. Thereafter, it was adjusted several times, and its rules were modified. At the present time, wages can grow only five percent faster than the inter-year inflation rate.

Sestak Complains of 'Negative' Press Articles

LD2808185195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Report on news conference given by State Secretary Jozef Sestak in Bratislava on 26 August; Sestak comments recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following his three-day visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, State Secretary Jozef Sestak gave a news conference at the Foreign Ministry today. [passage omitted]

Slovak radio was represented at the news conference by Jan Baranek.

[Baranek] Jozef Sestak opened the news conference by speaking about the experiences and impressions from his three-day visit.

[Sestak] The greatest impression I gained there was that of a partnership. Simply nowhere did we encounter the concept of a big Germany as opposed to a small Slovakia, or of a highly democratic Germany, a superpower with its economic miracle etc, as opposed to a small country undergoing reform and suffering problems. Nothing of this kind.

We are taken as their partner, as if we have already been a member of the European Union and their NATO ally. Slovakia is being praised for the progress it has made let us say since 1989. However, the phase especially important for us is the one from 1st January 1993 [date of Slovak independence].

[Baranek] Jozef Sestak went on to comment on some articles about Slovakia which have been recently published in leading foreign dailies.

[Sestak] I would like to react to one issue which really bothers me in my position of a Foreign Ministry official. Thanks to my working visit to Germany I witnessed a big gap between what is being written about Slovakia in some foreign media and the views actually held by western governments. I am sorry to have to say that these negative articles about Slovakia are being willingly and uncritically published in some of our papers. By this I am naturally not saying that any barrier should be built here, simply ignoring the existence of such articles. To be on the safe side, I have jotted this down on paper. As I have said, this is being uncritically taken on. If somebody puts together a compilation of half-truths and lies about me I cannot simply ignore it. This is irresponsible. [Passage omitted]

Out of good will, we have introduced the practice of frequent briefings for all. However, as you see we are leaving this practice because it must be a serious relationship as the media are an extremely powerful weapon. [Passage omitted]

HZDS Daily on RFE License Extension

AU2508193895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 23 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by Milan Polak: "License Definitely Yes but With Conditions Attached; Who Is Served by 'Independent' Radio Free Europe Broadcasts?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the years of totalitarianism, when we listened to Radio Free Europe [RFE] broadcasts with great difficulties (because they were being jammed by the state, which made reception difficult), they used to fill our dejected souls with hope and to open our eyes, just as the BBC and Voice of America broadcasts did. One has to acknowledge fairly these foreign broadcasters' part in shaping the social awareness, as well as their role in the spontaneous welcoming of radical political changes in our state and in the eastern bloc at large.

Dominant One-Sidedness

The Voice of America and BBC broadcasts from London have maintained their high standard of journalism even since 1989. The greatest trump card of their broadcasts is their journalistic independence, impartiality, objectivity, and reliability, which holds true for news and commentaries alike. The practice of verifying obtained information from at least two independent sources has remained the determining criterion of their journalistic fairness. Something similar can be said about a component of RFE that we can listen to without problems—the RFE's Czech service. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about RFE's Slovak service, which, virtually across the board, ostentatiously defies and ignores the RFE's self-proclaimed principle of independence. It is possible that the RFE's Slovak service really is only some kind of a bizarre little island of blatant violation of respectable journalism, an example of egregious one-sidedness, an evidence that bilious hatred also is a certain form of personal pervertedness. It is in this light that the RFE's Slovak service, in contrast to other foreign radio stations broadcasting in Czech and Slovak, presents itself to us day in and day out, especially in its main newscast: Current Affairs, Connections, Arguments.

Something About the Nature of Its Broadcasts

The fact that the time has now come for RFE to reapply for a broadcasting license from the Slovak Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting gives us an opportunity to say something about the nature of its broadcasts. The fact is that, in the spectrum of mass media influence on the addressee, it is necessary to protect, like the apple of one's eye, plurality of views and consistent dual [public and private] nature of broadcasts throughout. [sentence as published] This is an indispensable condition of democracy, which we uphold and on which we also base our future. It is also a fact, however, that every state in the world protects its media so that it is not misused for misleading and mystifying the public by means of half-truths, lies, and deliberate malice. We cannot demand that the RFE or any other broadcaster serve the ruling power in a servile manner. But choosing the government, a government, moreover, that emerged from free elections, as the sole and exclusive target of mendacious and demagogic attacks is something that has nothing in common with the RFE's proclaimed and oft-repeated independence, to say the least. This is precisely what the RFE practices, especially in its commentaries and in organizing roundtable discussions.

How does it practice this? For example, by identifying with the views of only one element of the spectrum of opinions, with that which has found itself in opposition in the wake of the 1994 elections. Alternative views are being deliberately and purposefully withheld from the listener, which is markedly reflected in enraged commentaries full of "witticisms" that are sometimes an insult to human dignity, in the organization of discussions, to which only politicians who hold distinctly opposition views are invited, and in the self-serving and one-sided selection of quotes, be it from the domestic or foreign press. Let me cite as an example the repeated quoting of former Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan's press remark that "I am an optimist and hope that such odious things will not happen in Slovakia again." (RFE 17 July 1995).

"Select" Vocabulary

The vocabulary used by RFE editors would be worthy of special consideration. Again, the aim of the vocabulary chosen is to defame representatives of the ruling coalition. At the same time, RFE commentaries outright glorify exponents of opposition views, particularly if they are fierce enemies of Prime Minister Meciar. It really is difficult to assess whether characterizations such as "arrogance of the government elite," "persons for single use," "making laws to political order," "wantonness of power," "absurd mechanism," "criticism of the leader," and others have their place in the arsenal of an independent radio station, or whether this is only a peculiar interpretation of unlimited freedom of speech, the existence of which in Slovakia, the RFE permanently calls into question.

This is what happens when hate-filled attacks and accusations become the working method of a radio station in lieu of businesslike arguments.

Despite this, it is necessary to demand that the RFE be able to continue broadcasting. Yet the Slovak Government Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting, which is a body of state power, should, without regard for the fact that the RFE is financed by the U.S. Congress, lay down conditions for this radio station that would eliminate this hate-filled one-sidedness. We have every right to protect our media space, like any other sovereign state.

When the RFE fully guarantees plurality, balance, veracity, objectivity, and impartiality of information and fairness of commentaries, when its broadcasts do not amount to a campaign in favor of a single political orientation, and when its broadcasts are an expression of respect for the rights of the citizen, then let the RFE keep broadcasting forever, if it likes to. When these conditions are not met, and continue to be violated in the spirit of previous practices, the Council, which sets the conditions for the license, will have the next move. This practice, too, is a normal part of functioning democracy.

Meciar Discusses Conflict With Carnogursky

LD2508201195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 25 Aug 95

["Regular Friday interview" with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Dobos; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Dobos] After the meeting of the representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] with the president, relations between the government coalition and the opposition seem to have come to a head. The opposition predicts that the government coalition will increase its pressure against the president, and says that you will personally escalate the situation to the point of a challenge: Me or him. Prime Minister, what is your forecast? Will this be a hot autumn, or not?

[Meciar] This is a paradox, or an absurd situation, Slovak style. Mr. Carnogursky [KDH chairman] first spreads news of my intention to offer my resignation, and I then have to attempt to successfully fight this rumor, rather than him asking me in the first instance to learn from me that it is nonsense. There were no considerations or talks of resignation. Nor are there any such considerations at present. [passage omitted] We set up this government for the period of four years, and we intend to work four years. When we draw up our new programs, we bear in mind prospects for the next eight years. I absolutely deny these allegations. Between the president and me, there is nothing but a standard working relationship within constitutional limits. There is no personal conflict between Meciar and the president. There is a conflict between the president and parliament. That is all.

[Dobos] May I ask one more question concerning claims made by Mr. Carnogursky, who said that he had some confirmation of your intention to resign from the circles or ranks of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. What is your view on this?

[Meciar] For God's sake! This is a matter concerning me, and I am taking a stance on it. This stance reflects my will as prime minister, and it is taken also on behalf of the government. There was no such talk within the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. [passage omitted] However, what is at stake is the issue of investments. Investments to the tune of several billion [no unit specified as heard] are under preparation. Rumors such as this one quickly prove to be nonsense. However, they make partners with whom we are engaged in extremely important investment projects in Slovakia, uncertain. As a result, our partners suspend talks, request additional information, or slow down their work on projects. Therefore, I consider rumors such as this not only as defamation, but also as malice which, eventually, acts against the people. It is embarrassing that even the president of the republic lends himself to this. [passage omitted]

[Dobos] Now I would like to turn to Hungarian-Slovak relations. Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn said the day before yesterday that he would probably meet the Slovak prime minister in the near future. According to the latest information, as of today, this meeting should take place within two weeks. What stage have the preparations of your meeting with the Hungarian prime minister reached?

[Meciar] I can confirm these reports; the preparations have reached a very advanced stage, and the meeting will probably take place. Providing we reach an agreement, we will then announce the place and time.

[Dobos] A bill on state language is also said to be on the agenda. Will the clearly improving Hungarian-Slovak relations be damaged by [Coexistence chairman] deputy Miklos Duray's statement in which he used the expression fascism, and similar expressions when speaking about the bill on state language?

[Meciar] I can assure you that this bill will not be on the agenda. It is just an assumption. In fact there is no issue I would protest against if Mr. Horn suggests it; friends should lead a sincere dialogue. [sentence as heard]

With regard to Mr. Duray's statement, there are extremes both on the side of the Hungarian minority and on the Slovak side. However, we do not want to carry out policy according to the extremes. Every river has its banks, but every river also has its river bed, and most water flows over the river bed. Therefore, the fundamental and useful thing for us is to deal with fundamental questions of our mutual relations, and also to discuss other issues which are fundamental for Central Europe, and in general, the issues of integration in Europe. In this sphere, Slovak-Hungarian relations are one of the key issues.

[Dobos] One important issue is the ratification of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. What, in your view, are the chances that this treaty will be ratified in our country in the near future?

[Meciar] I think so. [Passage omitted] I think that October or November are realistic dates for this.

I would like to point out that this treaty is not the issue of relations between the opposition and the coalition; it is the issue of Slovakia's interests. Therefore, support for it is a matter for both the coalition and the opposition. It does not make a good impression when we, for instance, receive a message from the chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [Peter Weiss] stating they will support the treaty only providing it is supported by all the parties of the government coalition. This is not politics, it is passing the buck.

Similarly, some other groups [words indistinct] say that they will not support the treaty. Naturally, every deputy of the National Council has the right to do so. It is an expression of their will.

Even if some of them want to block the treaty—and from the point of view of vote mathematics they should not be able to succeed in this—the government would consider the treaty valid.

[Dobos] In your view, what do we need to be able to move from confrontation to constructive cooperation in the interest of Slovakia's prosperity.

[Meciar] The idea of a national front is, to some extent, illusionary. [passage omitted] We have to realize that there are state interests that are of fundamental importance, and everyone who speaks or acts against any basic state interest puts himself or herself in an antisocial position, be it whoever, in whatever post. [passage omitted]

Home Guard Intended for 'State of Emergency'

AU2508190095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 24 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "pt": "The Home Guard Will Exist Only During a State of Emergency"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Following a request from deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic Defense and Security Committee, Major General J. Paucik, director of the Section for Defense Policy and Army Development at the Defense Ministry, submitted a restricted report yesterday on the government's plans for establishing a Home Guard. After the committee session, Deputy J. Carnogursky (Christian Democratic Movement) told SME that the current state territorial defense forces will be turned into the Home Guard. "During peacetime, the Home Guard will not factually exist. Only the officers and noncommissioned officers entrusted with setting up the Home Guard units in a state of emergency will exist," declared J. Carnogursky. He added that the Home Guard will only fulfill its tasks in the event of a state of emergency. J. Carnogursky also acknowledged that the formation of the Home Guard units is a political concession to the Slovak National Party and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia.

Economy Minister on Recent Privatization Issues

AU2508193295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Aug 95 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Slovak Economy Minister Jan Ducky by Martin Benko; place and date not given: "A Game Called Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] National Council committees began this week to discuss the president's reasons for returning to parliament with certain reservations three laws on privatization. Among them is a law on guaranteeing the state's interests in the privatization of strategically important state enterprises and shareholding companies. Our interview with its proposer, Economy Minister Jan Ducky, began with this topical issue.

[Benko] Much of the opposition's criticism concerned, first and foremost, the contents of the law, but voices were also raised that cast doubt on the need for it at all. What, then, is the justification for and the purpose of the aforementioned law?

[Ducky] From the beginning, when I advocated it in parliament, I have been surprised that there could have been anyone at all in Slovakia opposed to the adoption of this law. It should have been adopted long ago and these discussions would not have to take place, because it specifies the enterprises or, as the case may be, the branches of a genuinely strategic nature and significance for the whole of society. The law's interpreters have not noticed that only Article 2 speaks about the nonprivatization of enterprises. There are 27 enterprises there; not many of them are industrial. The purpose of the law is to protect these enterprises to ensure that the market is not purchased through their privatization and that there is no negative impact on the whole process of the economy's transformation. Article 3 speaks about the enterprises that have already been, are being, and will be privatized. The state would like to maintain its authority in them. I had expected general agreement with and compliments for the coauthorship of this law.

[Benko] In your opinion, what is the most essential thing in selecting a purchaser? The price?

[Ducky] In the privatization process, the price is not the primary condition, because a businessman puts the high price into his overheads, then into the cost of his products or services, and may also become insolvent in competition. Then, we will not achieve what we are pursuing through privatization, and that is prosperity and maintaining employment. In the privatization process, it is the state's duty to insure itself, at least for the 10-year repayment period, against the new owners behaving speculatively with this property. It is better to sell a share with a nominal value of 1,000 korunas [Sk] for Sk200 to any group of businessmen, to management, or to employees than to interested parties from abroad whom we know would pay Sk1,000 per share, but would then close the enterprise and gain the market.

[Benko] The president's main reservation against the adoption of this law is the use of golden shares. He is demanding that this be withdrawn from the text. Will you accommodate him?

[Ducky] Of course not, because we would miss the target. It is in the general interest that we can also bring pressure to bear on the new owners.

[Benko] How do you envisage implementing the state's interests in those strategic enterprises where the National Property Fund [FNM] has already succeeded in ridding itself of all its shares?

[Ducky] This will be a subject of discussion. In the extreme case, we will purchase one share.

[Benko] From whom and under what conditions?

[Ducky] I do not know yet, but I will make a proposal. I was not here, I was on vacation. I have also been trying to understand it. This may not be a problem. In the enterprises privatized during the second wave, I recommended sales ensuring that part of the shares always remain within the FNM's ownership. In the case of VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] Kosice, where the FNM sold all its shares, we will find a way to overcome this.

[Benko] Is this law necessary only now, in the privatization process, or will it also be applied when privatization is completed?

[Ducky] I think it will also be applied when privatization is completed. As I have already said, it should have been adopted prior to the start of privatization, but there is no point in crying over spilled milk.

[Benko] Is it true that, in privatization, a narrow group of influential industrialists headed by you decides on the purchasers and conditions of sale?

[Ducky] If only it were the case, because this is great power. Unfortunately, I do not have it. From the beginning, I have made no secret of the fact that such a specification of the state's interests should have been made long ago. Since it was not, it does not mean that it should never be made. I recommend how to privatize, but not for whom. So, I cannot accept this distinction.

[Benko] Although you merely recommend to the FNM how it should privatize, does it often happen that you disagree in the method of privatization?

[Ducky] We do not always agree. The decision is then within the FNM's jurisdiction. I try to promote my arguments, but it is not always possible to contend everything.

[Benko] What do you think of the FNM's decision to sell 39 percent of the shares in Slovnaft to a company made up of this enterprise's management and employees?

[Ducky] The Slovnaft employees deserve this, so does the management, because, in the difficult era of transformation, they demonstrated their ability to seek starting points and the results prove this. As this principle has been applied elsewhere, it would have been very harsh, irresponsible, and unfair if Slovnaft's employees were not also given this opportunity.

[Benko] Is the current way of making decisions on privatization more objective and fair if a nonstate organization makes the decisions and the government or, as the case may be, the Privatization Ministry cannot carry out their economic policy fully in such a sensitive issue?

[Ducky] It is not crucial whether the FNM decides on this. The aim of the second privatization wave is to create a domestic entrepreneurial tier and I am convinced that such privatization is correct. I acknowledge the error rate, but in which decisionmaking process is there no error rate? In any case, managing this process at the government level and taking the responsibility on ourselves for each specific decision creates a good chance of an error rate.

[Benko] In its policy statement, the government undertook to guarantee the continuation of coupon privatization, but, despite this, it has approved a law abolishing coupon privatization and replacing it with so-called bond compensation. How do you explain this variance?

[Ducky] Based on a reassessment and evaluation of the success of the first coupon privatization wave, the political forces came to the conclusion that it was not what had been expected and came up with the bonds method. I am convinced that this form will speed up privatization, because we do not have to wait for the preliminary round, the individual rounds, and an assessment. Citizens will have the same opportunities to buy shares, even better than in coupon privatization! Everyone can buy shares from the FNM's portfolio for Sk10,000 and play the game that we have called privatization. I see no tragedy in this.

Kovacs on Ethnic Hungarian Rights, Proposed Talks

AU2508183395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Aug 95 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs; place and date not given: "Budapest Is Concerned About Ethnic Minorities Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The level and timing of negotiations of which Prime Minister Gyula Horn informed the opposition parties' leaders on 23 August will be set through diplomatic channels in the near future, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs told NEPSZABADSAG. We want to ask the Romanians not to implement the education law that harms the ethnic Hungarians living there. With Bratislava, we want to initiate talks about the Slovak language law. With Belgrade, we will try to discuss the recent settling of refugees into Vojvodina.

In connection with this, Laszlo Kovacs told us that, for some time, the Hungarian Government has been following with concern the measures that lead to the violation of the rights of ethnic Hungarians living in the neighboring countries, and it now seems expedient to initiate talks with the relevant governments. The situation in Vojvodina is slightly different from that prevailing in Romania and Slovakia. The situation that has emerged in Vojvodina, namely the settling of Krajina refugees in this region, might upset the ethnic balance prevailing for centuries. Kovacs thinks that the firm position of the Hungarian Government must have also played a role in halting the forced settling of refugees in this region. Of course, the Hungarian side cannot accept the settling of refugees here by peaceful means either, except for a temporary period of time, given the special situation.

'Contradictory' Statements on Borders Viewed

AU2508171695 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 26 Aug pp 77-79

[Article by Akos Tomory: "Neutral Denials"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, the leadership of the Hungarian Army is following the events in Yugoslavia with "concern" and "watchful attention" on whether a war breaks out for the possession of eastern Slavonia territories that are in the immediate vicinity of Hungary's borders. Rumors on placing the Hungarian Army on combat readiness and on deployment of troops have been denied almost daily in recent weeks; perhaps even more frequently than the rumors justified it.

"Hungary keeps away from the Yugoslav conflict and refrains from committing itself to any side; nor does Hungary intend to provide advantages to either the Serbs or the Croats," Gyorgy Keleti declared in his speech at the festive meeting of newly appointed army officers held in Budapest on 20 August. However, such statements on neutrality have been repeatedly made after the Croatian Army recaptured Knin at the beginning of August. One can only guess what justified the latest confirmation: last week's statements made by Hungarian organizations in Vojvodina in which they called for government measures to prevent a possible ethnic cleansing by the Serbs, or last week's idea of the Croatian historians about a possible Croatian-Hungarian confederation, or the report carried by Zagreb Television, according to which the Hungarian defense minister allegedly congratulated the Croatian Army for its successes in Krajina, a rumor denied by Keleti?

However, official statements containing more contradictory messages have also been made in recent weeks. On 2 August, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry did not yet regard as justified advice for Hungarian tourists to refrain from vacationing in Croatia; two days later, however, after the military offensive, Foreign Ministry officials said the opposite but stressed that, despite the developments, there is no direct military threat against Hungary. The next statement, this time a government statement, was published one week later. According to the situation analysis included in this statement, "the danger of armed conflict has increased in the vicinity of the southern borders of the Hungarian Republic" and, consequently, "adequate and primarily technical measures have been taken in the Hungarian Armed Forces," measures that "do not include the redeployment of military troops, the changing of the alertness level, or the modification of training schedule."

Everything that Lieutenant Colonel Jozsef Komuves, deputy spokesman of the Interior Ministry's National Border Police Command, told us seems to somehow contradict all this. He spoke of halting the approval of leave for soldiers as well as delaying training at the Border Police units. It is true, however, that the reinforced patrols only refer to the Border Police Directorate in Pecs, primarily to the area between the Drava and Danube Rivers. According to Lt. Col. Komuves, this reinforced service means more frequent patrols, and not combat readiness, and such reinforcements can take place several times a year, for example when the partner organizations abroad signal the arrival of a larger number of illegal immigrants.

In any case, Border Police officials do not see the possibility of an attack because, according to Jozsef Komuves, no regular troops have been spotted along the Hungarian border; the Border Police only has information about small groups of armed people. According to

Lt. Col. Komuves, the only thing that can happen is that foreigners arriving as refugees must be "deprived" of their weapons or soldiers crossing the border for "food supplies" must be disarmed. According to the official explanation, the fact that the Border Police redeployed some armored vehicles from unnamed areas does not contradict all this. This redeployment is justified by the fact that Border Police action units have armored vehicles mostly "discarded" by the army, most of them more than 20 years old, and this "redeployment" at least gives them the chance to have a sufficient number of armored personnel carriers in case of emergency. According to Jozsef Komuves, these armored vehicles are needed because of the mine fields laid down on the Serbian side, and these armored vehicles are capable of protecting the soldiers from infantry mines.

The Hungarian Army also excels in soothing the people. According to experts, the extensive observation mentioned by Gyorgy Keleti weeks ago actually means a more intense information-gathering activity than before, namely the army tries to increase the range of air-defense radars to maximum power in order to "see" as far as possible into the neighboring countries' airspace. Neither the Defense Ministry officials nor the people living in the area of Pecs and Siklos told us of any troops concentrations or mobilization. Besides, the rifle brigades in Nagykanizsa, Baja, and Hodmezovasarhely, the artillery brigade in Pecs, and the antitank brigade in Kiskunhalas, as well as the tactical air force unit in Taszar and the air-defense missile unit in Kalocsa represent the major forces in southern Hungary.

Of course, in principle, these units can also be reinforced "invisibly" by calling up the reserves (as considered after the Yugoslav war broke out in 1991). However, according to Zoltan Bekesi, head of the Recruiting Department of the Hungarian Army, this is out of question, all the more so because, according to the Defense Law of 1993, mobilization can only be ordered in an emergency situation or after the declaration of a state of emergency. According to the aforementioned law, the reserves must be informed at least six months prior to mobilization and, although the law makes an exception in the case of a so-called unexpected mobilization, such "unexpected" call-ups can only take place "in accordance with the annual plans approved by the government." In addition, at the moment, there are even fewer reserves in the barracks than usual, and the number of troops called up this way will not increase considerably in the future either; an increase in such mobilization is expected to take place for "retraining purposes" following the modernization of military technology in the wake of the ongoing reform of the armed forces.

There have been ways of "covertly" increasing the number of troops, especially in the wake of the fact that the new recruits were called up in August after the offensive of the Croatian troop in Krajina; in principle, this would have provided the opportunity to also take certain "wartime factors" into consideration, in addition to the general training factors, in selecting the recruits for military service, like selecting the locations for military service. Zoltan Bekesi rejects this hypothesis by saying that "no army in the world can start a war with soldiers who happen to be in their barracks at that moment." However, the fact that, this year, the new recruits were called up 10 days earlier than last year seems to confirm this speculation but, according to Bekesi, the only reason for this early call-up was that this schedule was more in harmony with the university semester start in February and the possibility of some rest for the released soldiers before the beginning of work and school in September.

Therefore, judging the official reactions, the fears of the Hungarian population do not seem to be founded. The question, however, is to what extent can these fears be regarded as general. For example, Bekesi is not aware of any case in which the new recruits or their parents objected to the placement of new recruits at a unit "close to the war." However, the army could hardly fill its contingent in Pecs at the time of the fighting in Baranya area in 1991. There are no signs of panic in the two border cities, Pecs and Siklos. It is true, however, that, according to statistics provided by the Border Police, the number of foreigners arriving into Hungary at the southern borders has somewhat dropped in recent weeks, and so has the Hungarians' habit of filling their cars with fuel across the border.

However, the shopping tourism continues to flourish. In Siklos, for example, seven to eight out of 10 shoppers in food stores are tourists, and the sight of patrolling Border Police does not seem to cause any concern in the region. A man from Pecs told us that "people living here have already learned to live with the proximity of the war."

There is no danger of war, experts say, and the series of official denials is actually not intended so much to calm the Hungarian population; instead, it is intended to "refute" foreign rumors, like the report published in the German weekly DIE WOCHE last week about the alert of the Border Police at the bordering crossing point at Roszke. It is another matter that everything can have domestic policy "connotations" as well, for example the fact that, in the course of bargaining over next year's budget, the Hungarian Army leadership might even profit from keeping the defense issue in public focus. According to reports, as opposed to the 80 billion forints [Ft] military budget demanded by the Defense Ministry, the Finance Ministry only wants to provide a yearly budget of maximum Ft65 billion for military purposes.

Bokros Satisfied With Latest Economic Results

LD2608210695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The finance minister considers the latest economic developments promising. Inflation will only be around 30 percent. Ferenc Ripli reports from the Lajos Bokros's forum in Zalaegerszeg.

[Ripli] Although it is too early to speak of the success or failure of the stabilization program, after the catastrophically bad economic results of the first quarter, the results of the second quarter seem promising, said Bokros in Zalaegerszeg. In comparison with the $1.4 billion balance of payments deficit of the first three months, which was higher than in the same period of the previous year, the rate of increase significantly slowed down in the second quarter. So the deficit remained below 2 billion [currency not specified] by the end of the first half of the year.

The growth rate of the central budget's deficit has also slowed down. The monthly 50 billion [currency not specified] growth in the first months of 1995 dropped to monthly 10 billion [currency not specified] between April and June, said the finance minister.

Regarding inflation he said that after the onetime great inflation pressure due to the stabilization program, the monthly price increase rate fell to under 1 percent by July and August after the 4 percent in March. It is expected that the yearly inflation will not exceed 28-29 percent.

Izetbegovic Meets Serb Civic Council Delegation

AU2608195895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received a delegation of the Serb Civic Council [SGV] of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo. The talks were about the SGV stands on the U.S. peace initiative.

The SGV delegation suggested to President Izetbegovic that in his forthcoming talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina with representatives of the international community he should point out the greater responsibility of the international community for the destiny of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

President Izetbegovic confirmed that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be preserved as a democratic, internationally recognized, and sovereign state, along with guaranteeing human rights and freedoms, national equality based on international standards, and proffering guarantees on the part of international factors for the return of all refugees and expellees to their homes.

SGV representatives conveyed to President Izetbegovic their stand on the need to set up Bosnia-Herzegovina as a composite [slozen] state and preserve Sarajevo as a unified [cjelovit] city.

Silajdzic Comments on Visit to Croatia, Bihac

AU2608204495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After his visits to Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, as well as to Zagreb and the Bihac Region, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic today presented a positive assessment of this diplomatic and political tour for the Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina and then said the following:

[Begin recording] [Silajdzic] Touched upon were mainly two topics:

Our joint appearance on other world markets, considering the government visit to Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, so it is only normal for the Croatian economy to be interested in joining in. We are ready, but we agreed that if we do appear together we should do so in a very organized way. Involved here is a market, if we are talking about the Gulf, a market with a very strong competition in which only the best and the best prepared succeed. Of course, we are going to offer what we can at the moment. As I said, the aggression is under way, so it is difficult to speak about economic relations, but one should preserve contacts. This is the first topic we talked about.

We also touched upon the question of our agreements signed with the Republic of Croatia which are not fully implemented and the open questions regarding the Federation.

The second topic is the topic of our people who are still in Croatia and who were persuaded by Abdic to flee to Croatia after Chetniks had been defeated in the regions of Bihac and Croatian Krajina.

What we could impart to these people is that conditions for their return have been met, that the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina has done all it could to help the return to proceed in the best order, and that an ombudsman office has been opened in Velika Kladusa, so the presence of the international community has also been secured. It would be good if these people started to return as soon as possible, considering the [word indistinct] that we are facing [word indistinct]

[Unidentified reporter] The delegation has also visited the Una-Sana Canton, [words indistinct] Bihac, Velika Kladusa. What are your impressions from this visit?

[Silajdzic] My impression is that the situation is better than I thought it would be. That is my first impression. There is a great will to work, to renovate, to continue striving. This will is very important. As far as we are concerned, we shall do everything with a view to helping life normalize and that is already being done regarding food, electricity, and education. As regards culture, they are interested in discussion forums, (?in books), particularly (?in newspapers). Of course, [word indistinct] under the impression of opening, but it is the fact that a lot of strong will exists to renew the region and at the same time to liberate new territories. [end recording]

Further on Zagreb Talks

LD2508150295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Nikica Valentic and Haris Silajdzic, the prime ministers of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively, have had talks in Zagreb. After the talks, attended by Bosiljko Misetic and Jadranko Prlic, the deputy prime ministers of the two countries, the leaders spoke to newsmen. Here is a report by Andjelko Perincic:

[Perincic] The talks covered currently open questions between the two countries, especially in the economic sphere, where not all the established and signed agreements have been implemented. This was the first thought expressed by Croatian Prime Minister Valentic.

[Begin Valentic recording] We are not dissatisfied with the (?implementation) of these agreements, but we jointly together that most of the agreements have not been implemented, and we will try in various ways to revitalize the economic parts of these agreements in the interests of both states' peoples, governments, and states. [sentence as heard]

In this context it is very important that we better organize the coordination of participation in third markets, because the economies of our states are compatible. In addition, because of the circumstances in which Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular finds itself, it is even more possible for us to participate in third markets together, and together, I likewise believe that this is quite clear, we have a far stronger political status in these markets. And, we believe that this is the greatest area in which we can realize, I repeat again, the clear interest in the economic power of both states, and the large part of all other power stems from economic power.

It is clear that there are political, open, questions on the basis of the clear policy which has been established, and at the end there was also discussion of the humanitarian, I would say, problem of the refugees from Velika Kladusa, where we tried together to find solutions for this humanitarian question, because in political terms, everything has [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Perincic] Having said that he was in Zagreb after returning from Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Silajdzic added:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] We can organize a great deal of our exports if we act together quickly and in an organized fashion. We also discussed the open problem, of course, of the Federation. Deputy Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic is here with us. Naturally, we were unable to resolve everything today, but we at least set out the directions in which we will move over the coming few weeks and months. [end recording]

[Perincic] As to the value of possible business deals with Arab countries, the Bosnian prime minister did not give any figures, but he added that this would depend on the readiness and capabilities of our enterprises.

During the talks with correspondents there was also mention of the pardoning of people from Velika Kladusa, including Fikret Abdic. Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Misetic repeated his recent statement that a pardon for all of them has been agreed at the level of the two states, but Prime Minister Silajdzic stated that he is not aware of such an agreement.

Asked about the problems which should be resolved in connection with the establishment of the Federation, Prime Minister Silajdzic summed them up by defining them as the task of establishing a single authority in the area of the Federation in the soonest possible time.

Sacirbegovic Asks Turkish Troops To Remain

LD2608145495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1432 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ankara, Aug. 26 (TANJUG)—The Sarajevo Muslim government is urging Turkey not to withdraw its troops from Bosnia if UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] pulls out of that former Yugoslav Republic.

Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic told Turkish reporters in Washington that Turkey's presence in Bosnia was welcome even if the peacekeepers left, Ankara papers said on Saturday.

"We definitely consider Turkey a friendly country. Turkey can continue playing a positive role in Bosnia within UNPROFOR, but also outside it," Sacirbegovic said, but did not elaborate. He did not say what this practically meant, especially if peacekeepers withdrew.

Sacirbegovic again criticized the UN peace force in Bosnia. He said UNPROFOR was used as "an excuse to maintain the arms embargo," but in fact "to weaken the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia."

Turkey has about 1,500 troops on the UN force in Bosnia. They are deployed in the region of Zenica in central Bosnia along the line of separation between Croats and Muslims.

Ankara is not only not considering the withdrawal of its units from Bosnia, but is even ready to send reinforcements if asked to do so.

Turkey has warplanes within the NATO force in Italy which are enforcing the no-fly zone over Bosnia, and a ship and a submarine within the western fleet which is enforcing the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Government Halts Russian Gas to FRY

MS2508123495 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 25 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Harriet Martin: "Bosnia Raises Stakes by Cutting Off the Gas"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo—The Bosnian Government has raised the stakes in a long-running dispute over energy supplies to besieged Sarajevo by persuading Hungary to stop the flow of Russian gas to former Yugoslavia.

As long as that decision stays in force, the government will be depriving itself of any prospect of gas supplies in order to get back at Serbia and Serb-held Bosnia, which control most of the route.

But after four months when the Bosnian Serbs have not allowed any gas to the government-controlled part of the city, the Sarajevo authorities feel they have little to lose.

The cut-off was organised through the United Nations Sanctions Committee, which had previously allowed gas supply to Serbia on grounds that Bosnia was receiving some of it.

The move is a still a bold one, at a time when winter is in prospect, and it could reflect a quiet confidence in the Bosnian Government that, within a few months, some breakthrough in the conflict, whether diplomatic or military, will ease the city's plight.

Gas supplies to Sarajevo are a matter of life and death. Before the war the city had only 15,000 domestic gas connections, but after three winters of siege, with soaring firewood prices and sporadic electricity supplies, the number has reached 70,000. This is because thousands of people have dug up the road in front of their homes and connected themselves to the mains. These highly dangerous home-made connections, combined with an irregular gas supply, meant that at times last winter, more people in Sarajevo were dying in gas explosions than from sniping.

Britain's Overseas Development Administration [ODA] and the UK construction company AMEC have been replacing thousands of illegal connections as part of a project to improve energy supplies to the city.

Before the Bosnian Serbs severed gas supplies in May, the city had five months of relatively stable supply. This was thanks in part to an agreement under which the ODA was given access to both sides of the battle line and was able to sort out misunderstandings.

But unless there is some resolution of this many-sided energy dispute, whose protagonists include Sarajevo, the Bosnian-Serb stronghold of Pale, Belgrade and Moscow the ODA's efforts to could go to waste.

The Bosnian Government, for its part, seems strikingly optimistic a solution will be found. Mr. Hasan Muratovic, a minister, said his government had asked Hungary to turn off the tap because Serbia was grabbing an undue share of gas for itself, and none was reaching Sarajevo.

But he was eager for an early trilateral meeting between Russia, Serbia, and Bosnia that would sort out how much gas each country would receive and how outstanding bills would be paid. Moscow says it has received no money for gas supplies to ex-Yugoslavia since the war began and is owed more than $100 million (62.5 million pounds).

The three countries have negotiated with some success over gas issues before, despite the fact that the Bosnian Government is not recognised by Serbia and its political relations with Moscow are distinctly chilly.

Last November, Serbian and Bosnian representatives met in Moscow and agreed on a joint request to the Russian Government to increase gas supplies to the ex-Yugoslav republics from 100,000 to 250,000 cubic metres an hour.

This should, in theory, have provided enough gas for both republics, and Russia obligingly sought and won permission from the UN Sanctions Committee to step up its supplies. In practice, the deal has stumbled, and the increase was never made.

However, Mr. Muratovic felt that Serbia, at least, would become more cooperative in the light of Hungary's move to sever supplies. "Serbia is now under pressure, and a meeting will soon be arranged," he said, adding that Belgrade could put pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to maintain supplies. He also disclosed that Russia had agreed to waive the payment of arrears until January 1996.

Muratovic, Mayors Discuss Mandate, Gas Supply

AU2508193495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Hasan Muratovic, president of the State Committee for Relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], today talked with Sarajevo Mayor Tarik Kupusovic and eight of the capital's former mayors.

UNPROFOR has failed to implement its mandate: the airport has not been opened, the NATO ultimatum is not being implemented, convoys are not being escorted, and the safe haven is not protected, Muratovic said, and added that the only improvement was the repair of 10 km of the Mt. Igman road, which was the condition for RRF deployment.

As far as natural gas is concerned, Muratovic said that he was not pessimistic because the closing of the valve in Hungary is a certain step forward in negotiations with the Serbs. The solution to the problem should be reached at the meeting in Hungary, which will be attended by Serbs from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Each Bosnian Serb manipulation, the closing of the valve in Bosnia-Herzegovina, would automatically turn off the main valve in Hungary.

Lazovic Sets Assembly Session for 12 Sep

AU2508185795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The collegiate body of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly today held a session with representatives of parliamentary parties. Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic chaired the session.

Following the session, Lazovic scheduled a session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republican Assembly for 12 September in Sarajevo. The session will review the current political issues and new peace initiatives, the government's report, and the report of the expert team formed by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to establish the tasks and relations between the highest state bodies in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition to this, the session will also review several laws [words indistinct].

Komsic Views Amendments Favoring Ruling SDA

AU2708165095 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 p 7

[Interview with Ivo Komsic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zdravka Soldic; place and date not given: "Croatia Has Fulfilled All of Its Commitments of the Split Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The change of the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the latest meeting of the Republic's Assembly has caused a conflict between the opposition members of the Presidency and President Izetbegovic. The members of this highest state body, who so far have for the most part accepted its role of a formal factor, have finally decided to struggle for and win a right to concrete work and decisionmaking. That is, to participate in policymaking as a collective head of the state, rather than to have decisions made by President Izetbegovic alone, who is, according to the Constitution, just a peer among the equals. We are discussing all this with Ivo Komsic, who is now making great efforts to restore the authorizations of the Presidency to which it is entitled according to the Constitution.

Arbitrariness

[Soldic] Mr. Komsic, at the last meeting of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina an amendment proposed by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] has been adopted, according to which in the future president and vice president of the Presidency will be designated by the Assembly, rather than by the Presidency, which is what the Constitution specified until now. What is this consequential change of the Constitution bringing to Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Komsic] At the latest meeting of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina amendments have been adopted that considerably change the constitutional system of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

First, the right that the members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina had until now, to choose the president among themselves, has been abolished, and that procedure has been transferred to the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Second, a new function has been instituted, namely, the acting member of the Presidency. As for the former, it is about the arbitrariness of the SDA, that is converting its relative dominance in the past elections into its absolute dominance in society. In addition, it is doing that in such a rude and impertinent way, passing over the opinion of the majority of the members of the Presidency, as if it does not exist.

The most outrageous thing is the explanation of that change: Reportedly, some units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would not accept either a Croat or a Serb, or likewise a Muslim who is not an SDA member, to head the state Presidency. Actually, those are precisely the units whose instrumentalization we have already warned of. Instead of changing the political climate and motivation of those units, the Constitution is being changed, not to mention that this act implies distrust of the people who have been patiently and uncompromisingly defending the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, its state continuity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. After all, those people have created and backed the federal concept of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If they do not trust us, who else can be trusted then, and why are they creating a state of paranoia in society? Who needs that and for what purpose?

As for the latter, that is in itself a devaluation of both the function of the member of the Presidency and the body itself. This proves that the arbitrariness of the party makes possible everything, no matter how ridiculous it may be. As if the Presidency was unable to function with six members, they had to appoint another one, to replace Ganic. It would have sufficed if anybody from SDA had taken up the role of coordinator of joint activities with the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in the implementation of the Federation after Ganic was injured. However, that coordination does not exist, and in the field all processes have been at a standstill since Ganic's accident, but the post in the Presidency has been occupied.

Title Deed

[Soldic] At that Assembly meeting the SDA has publicly expressed its lack of confidence in the Presidency. How do you explain that?

[Komsic] It is not only about their placing no confidence in the Presidency, but also about the SDA's irresponsibility. At the meeting it could have easily happened that five members of the Presidency submitted a collective resignation, calling in question the state continuity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. One should not forget that the Presidency in one period was the state's representative, legislative, and executive body, all three at the same time. Without it the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina would have lost its "title deed," which means both its legality and legitimacy.

On the other hand, the only capital of the members of the Presidency is their moral integrity acquired precisely through the struggle for their fatherland and country, regardless of consequences. By expressing their lack of confidence in us they want to devaluate and humiliate us. However, all this is not over yet, and only after the end of the crisis in the government, that has unfortunately happened at the same time, the debate on this problem will be opened.

[Soldic] It is obvious that the state Presidency has not been performing its constitutional function for a longer time, that is, President Izetbegovic has usurped the function of the collective head of state. How do you propose to restore the Presidency's authority determined by the Constitution?

[Komsic] Just as any other body of authority, following the same principle, we shall demand our rights in accordance with our duties, stated in the Constitution and Statute of the Presidency. We shall not allow our being humiliated. I personally think that the goals for which I became politically engaged in and entered the Presidency have been accomplished: The state has been rescued, the war between Muslims and Croats has been halted, the process of implementation of the Federation has been opened, and a military alliance between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina has created preconditions for confederal affiliation of the two states. There are no more reasons for turning a blind eye to political manipulations and for taking part in the work of a body at the expense of one's moral integrity.

President Izetbegovic is trying to interpret the Constitution from the viewpoint of the presidential system. Even if that were possible, it would certainly not be possible, according to the Constitution, to concentrate all the power in the hands of the president of the Presidency. The Presidency is a collective body of state in which all its members are equal. It has retained its constitutional authorizations, only that they are not equally arranged within the Presidency, and that is precisely our problem. The Army, the Interior Ministry, and the state finances are in the hands of the president, and other members have almost no influence over that.

There is another way of terminating this monopoly, which is the implementation of the Federation. The Federal Constitution is democratic, and its implementation is a strategic question of Bosnia-Herzegovina's democratization.

Dissension

[Soldic] On Tuzla television you stated, and OSLOBODJENJE has brought out your statement later on as well, that there were efforts aimed at turning the struggle for the state into a struggle for a one-party state. What did you mean specifically?

[Komsic] I meant that the SDA is trying to place all the state functions under its control. Just take the statement by President Izetbegovic in Zenica, when he said that no Serb, or Croat, or even Muslim who was not an SDA member, could be the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

What kind of a state that is, if not a one-party state! And none of us has been fighting for Bosnia-Herzegovina's existence to build such a state. Today some people want to minimize that struggle, and ascribe it to just one party. They have even launched a theory about the state-founding character of the SDA, which is absurd, because at the same time it is being maintained that Bosnia-Herzegovina has a thousand-year state continuity.

[Soldic] Can you tell us what was happening at the meeting of the Presidency, when the resignation submitted by Prime Minister Silajdzic was discussed, and why the prime minister submitted it only to withdraw it thereafter?

[Komsic] I cannot retell you what was happening at the meeting, because it would be unfair. We have made public the result of our seven-hour session. It is important that we have prevented dissension among the state institutions and deepening of the political conflict in society. The prime minister has accepted our appeal and arguments that he should remain in the office, and to remove possible reasons for further disputes a commission has been formed that will precisely define constitutional authorities of the government, the Assembly, and the Presidency.

[Soldic] You took part in the Split meeting. How do you assess the Split Declaration?

[Komsic] The meeting in Split is the most constructive meeting between the state delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina that I have ever taken part in. It passed in a friendly atmosphere, with full mutual trust and clear goals. Now it is important to say that the Republic of Croatia has fulfilled all its commitments taken on according to the agreement, which the state administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina required it to do. That has strengthened the alliance between the two states and two peoples, changed the power structure on the ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and created preconditions for a peaceful settlement in both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Besides, the agreement has created conditions for the furtherance of the alliance and confederal affiliation of the two states.

Attack

[Soldic] The second clause of the Split agreement requires that political-legal expert groups be formed, whose task will be to urgently analyze and propose a solution on how to integrate the functions of authority of the Republic and the Federation. Can you explain to us what that is all about?

[Komsic] It is about an attempt to bring to an end the constitutional overlapping of the three systems of authority on the territory of the Federation, and to institute solely the federal system. This may additionally stimulate the implementation of the Federation. At the same time, this is a test whether we are committed without reservation to the Federation or not. A similar thing was proposed by the Croatian National Council in February this year, but that caused severe reactions, particularly against me, on the part of some media in Sarajevo. I hope that this initiative in the new circumstances will fare better.

[Soldic] How do you view the new U.S.-brokered peace plan?

[Komsic] The plan is unclear, because it makes possible different interpretations. In Pale it is interpreted to give them a state, with a widened corridor in Posavina, an access to the sea via Konavle, and a homogeneous territory. If this plan makes possible any of these things, it will fail. In Bosnia-Herzegovina only a plan that does not partition its territory, but rather ensures its sovereignty, equality of its peoples, and international legal continuity can succeed. In the plan proposed by the Americans all that is unclear.

SDA Upholds Response to U.S. Initiative

LD2708193995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of the executive committee of the ruling Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo today. The session examined the military and political situation in the country, certain personnel issues, the initiative for the reorganization of the Government of the Republic and Federation, and a number of issues concerning the work and organization of the party.

The session was presided over by Vice Chairman Edhem Bicakcic, while the opening report was submitted by SDA Chairman Alija Izetbegovic.

The Executive Committee upheld a 12-point program formulated by President Izetbegovic in reply to the U.S. peace initiative.

The participants discussed certain new ideas on the future constitutional setup of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the status of Sarajevo. Special emphasis was laid on the resolve to open Sarajevo before the coming winter, by political or military means.

Approval was given for the activities on implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation as outlined by the Split Declaration and in meetings between Bicakcic and Zubak.

It was agreed to initiate changes to the organization of the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina through the SDA deputies club in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly.

The founding of special ministries for the diaspora and agriculture, as well as an information service, will be proposed to the Assembly and Government.

The participants paid tribute to the courageous French intellectuals currently on hunger strike in protest against the violence in Bosnia.

The session also reviewed other issues of importance for the SDA's work.

MBO: Latest Plan Proposes Definite Partition

AU2508192995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One could say that Bosnia-Herzegovina is teetering on the brink of either peace or a long war. This was stated at today's news conference of the Muslim Bosniak Organization's [MBO] Steering Committee.

The forming of ethnic zones which is one of the things envisaged by the latest U.S. plan in no way suits the interests of the Bosniak peoples; just like all the other hitherto proposed plans for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this plan also proposes its definite partition, the forming of two entities in Bosnia that would have the right to form confederal and other ties with other states; this is the first step toward the disappearance of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the loss of its independence.

It is the party's stance that the pressure applied to Bosnia by the Contact Group and the international public to accept the 51:49 percent ratio, and the forming of a federation of only two peoples, without the participation of the third, that is, its omission from the federal constitution as a constituent element, constitutes partition along ethnic lines which means the disappearance of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. The MBO Steering Committee believes that the signing of the Washington Accord is just one step in the plan to reintegrate the remnants of Bosnia-Herzegovina according to the federal principle. Agreeing to federal ties between only two peoples and confederation with Croatia leads one to ask whether the struggle for an integral, independent, and internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina is becoming a thing of the past. [passage omitted]

Army Commander Pledges Continued Fighting

LD2708190895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A ceremony was held in Jablanica today at which Brigadier General Ramiz Drekovic, the outgoing commander of the 4th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, handed over to the new commander, Brigadier Mustafa Polutak. In addition to the 4th Corps officers, the ceremony was also attended by Army General Rasim, chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; representatives of the Party of Democratic Action regional and municipal branches for the Mostar district, of the municipal assemblies and wartime presidencies of Herzegovina, and of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have a report by Fazlo Dervisbegovic:

[Dervisbegovic] Brigadier General Ramiz Drekovic commanded the 4th Corps for almost 19 months. The fighters and Bosniaks of Herzegovina achieved a great deal over that period. [passage omitted]

The ceremony in Jablanica was addressed by General Rasim Delic.

[Begin Delic recording] These changes in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are quite normal, they are personnel changes designed to give some people rest from their duties and, through redeployment, to give fresh impetus to the efforts to consolidate our struggle, to consolidate our results, to ensure a fresh intake of [word indistinct] from the rank and file, in a word, the aim is to enhance our combat readiness and our results.

As President Izetbegovic has said, we have realized a large part of our goals. We are at the moment at a major watershed, in the sense that we will have to decide on what to do next and how. The three years of war have yielded many results and, above all, a guarantee of survival for our people and this state. These last three years of war, what some [words indistinct] doubted, I am talking about people from elsewhere, outside Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily the international community, have proven them wrong. It was thought that this country and this people would fall very quickly, that yet another Palestinian people, more Palestinians, would be created. However, they were all wrong. Thanks to the combat spirit, tradition and the strength of our people, this state, these people have survived and have put the international community in a difficult military situation. Yes, we are in a difficult situation but so are they. Believe me, [words indistinct] and they will not have so much trouble with us. And they are in a great dilemma: What to do next? For, the governments that tried to hide the crimes against our people, the governments of the so-called Western democracies, have found themselves in the situation where they have to explain to their own people what has been happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Words indistinct] many solutions, many offers, the search for solutions, at any price to stop what is happening in Bosnia. It is from that aspect that you have to view [words indistinct] the so-called peace initiatives, including the latest initiative which has neither head nor tail, in other words, it makes no concrete offers but is more an attempt to test the ground and to use it as a basis for drawing up some kind of a plan that should be accepted or not by us.

All in all, when it comes to the power-brokers, we cannot expect a great deal from them. For this reason, and in view of the many maps that have been drawn and redrawn throughout the three years of war, we can tell them that we can only have one direction, one commitment: to continue to fight. Back in 1993, when I first went to Geneva, I had an opportunity to see a map shown to me by General [name indistinct]. He said, here, you see, the world has divided Bosnia along the Neretva and Bosna valleys. It was done by an international institution. I told him, general, whoever drew the map once can draw it however many times he wants. Things happen and will be resolved on the ground. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Zubak, Bicakcic Discuss Federation Issues

LD2708191595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, held talks in west Mostar today. Bicakcic spoke about the results of the talks in a statement for Bosnia-Herzegovina radio. This report was prepared by Mehmedalija Sisic:

[Begin recording] [Sisic] Federation President Kresimir Zubak and acting Presidency member Edhem Bicakcic met in Mostar yesterday [as heard] and discussed the further development of relations, that is, development of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Mr. Bicakcic, could you please tell us about the contents of the talks.

[Bicakcic] The talks in Mostar between President Zubak and myself primarily focused on the further development of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; we discussed some concrete questions pertaining to the free flow of people and goods, and simplifying customs formalities, the establishment of a system of traffic in which customs would not present a problem. These ideas are to be studied by teams of experts.

President Zubak suggested the setting up of a joint radio and television network in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, in which a mixed editorial board would be in charge of the first program, while the second program would be prepared by national editorial boards, Croat and Bosniak alike.

I believe that the meeting laid realistic foundations for the further implementation of the federation in these parts. I will convey to President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic all the ideas from this meeting, and I expect their concrete implementation. [end recording]

Bicakcic on Abdic Prosecution

AU2508151795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The fate of Fikret Abdic, currently under house arrest in Zagreb, has in recent days preoccupied the domestic and international public. As always when there is a lack of information from relevant sources, there are many rumors going around. Acting Presidency member Edhem Bicakcic today spoke about the issue to the ONASA news agency. This is what he said:

The relevant legal bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina who carry out their duties independently will initiate within their legal jurisdiction a process of documenting and filing charges against the Bosnia-Herzegovina citizen Fikret Abdic. The Amnesty Act that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency passed earlier only applies to [word indistinct] or forcefully mobilized citizens of the [word indistinct] Krajina as part of the enemy forces.

Fikret Abdic is suspected of other, extremely grievous crimes which are not subject to the statute of limitations or any kind of [words indistinct] laws. The case of Fikret Abdic [words indistinct] and because of all that he has committed, Bicakcic said, he will be prosecuted. The judiciary's independence from politics and authority in executing justice is one of the highest values of the democratic processes which are [words indistinct]. The legal proceedings against Fikret Abdic will be strictly within the law [words indistinct] recipes from the past, but a legal and legitimate proceeding [words indistinct].

Fikret Abdic's cooperation with the authorities of the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding the return of refugees to their homes will probably be seen by the court as a mitigating circumstance. But the future trial will treat all [word indistinct] manipulation with these unfortunate people as a fresh [word indistinct].

The extradition of Fikret Abdic is a matter for the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities and their agreement with the Republic of Croatia on mutual extradition. I would once more like to stress that Fikret Abdic's case must not be politicized and turned into a new scandal, acting Presidency member Edhem Bicakcic said.

Sarajevo Shelled; 30 Casualties Reported

AU2808113895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Aug 95

[Telephone interview with UNPROFOR spokesman Major Vinet by an unidentified studio announcer in Sarajevo on 28 August; Vinet speaks in English with passage-by-passage Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prompted by the latest Chetnik massacre in Sarajevo, we phoned the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Sarajevo Headquarters and talked to their spokesman, Major Vinet.

[Announcer] Major Vinet, could you please give us some details of the massacre that took place in the center of the city today?

[Vinet] Yes, five mortar bombs landed on the center. We do not have precise information on the number of casualties.

[Announcer] Do you have at least an approximate casualty toll?

[Vinet] I only have the number supplied by Bosnian sources, and that is that some 30 people have been killed; at this point, I have no information on the number of injured.

[Announcer] Major Vinet, who fired the shells at Sarajevo?

[Vinet] The Bosnian Serb side, of course.

Serbs Deny Responsibility

LD2808120895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Aug (SRNA)—Miroslav Toholj, the minister of information of the Bosnian Serb Republic, said today that the Serb Republic Government energetically denies any responsibility for today's massacre in the center of Sarajevo, stressing that this is a typical act of Islamic terrorism.

"In line with their well-rehearsed practice, as soon as there is a glimpse of a possible peace agreement and an end to the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Izetbegovic's government uses classic methods of Islamic terrorism and shocks the international public with a fresh massacre, blaming the Serbs for it," Toholj said in a statement for SRNA.

Minister Toholj warned that "not even their people are sacrosanct to Izetbegovic and his government when obscure political aims, which they want to achieve at any cost, are at stake." He recalled the staged massacres in Vase Miskina Street and at Markale market, whose aim was to provoke economic, military, and political punishment for the Serb Republic and the Serb people on the whole.

According to Toholj, "the Serb Republic government expresses its conviction and hope that the international community will, with the help of its instruments in the field, unmask this Muslim trick and immediately inform the public about the outcome of an honest and detailed investigation."

"I would like to express my condolences to the families of the innocently murdered people who became the victims of the senseless and unscrupulous policy of Alija Izetbegovic and his terrorists' actions," Minister of Information Miroslav Toholj said in conclusion.

UN 'In Contact With' NATO

AU2808122895 Paris AFP in English 1212 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 28 (AFP)—The United Nations is in contact with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) about Monday's [28 August] shelling attack on Sarajevo, which killed 33 people, a UN source said here.

"We are in contact with NATO at the moment regarding the situation," said the official, who asked not to be named.

UN To Hit Serbs in Case of Gorazde Attack

AU2508141795 Paris AFP in English 1340 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 25 (AFP)—Just four unarmed military observers may be left in the surrounded eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde when the last of the British troops pull out, which is expected Friday [25 August], said UN spokesman Alexandre Ivanko.

The United Nations had planned to leave 20 military observers (UNMO's) behind when it removed the last of its Ukrainian and British peacekeepers by the end of the month but has since reconsidered.

"There is a possibility that the British force will withdraw and we will have only four UNMOs," said Ivanko Friday. "There may be a development later on where we will not be able to to bring in new UNMO's before the British forces come out."

After all but two of the Ukrainians were withdrawn from Gorazde late Wednesday, renegade Bosnian Army troops entered the British compound late Thursday in what was apparently an attempt to steal equipment, and plans were put in march to remove the British troops as quickly as possible.

Two Bosnian soldiers were killed and a third may have been wounded in what officials in London called a "minor incursion." There were no casualties among the British troops.

"It is almost impossible for UNPROFOR to function in such a climate of hostility," said Ivanko, referring to the UN Protection Force.

"One can imagine realistically speaking that this incident of yesterday (Thursday) does not help in any way in forming a group of military observers to monitor the situation in Gorazde," he added.

Four military observers, from Brazil, Britain, Norway, and Poland, are currently in the enclave to report on any attack, or impending attack, on the enclave and inform the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which has been left with the responsibility of defending the UN safe area.

The United Nations once again Friday pledged it would order NATO airstrikes to defend the town from Bosnian Serbs who have been surrounding it for the past three years.

Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon, a UN spokesman, pledged Friday that Bosnian Serbs would be hard hit if they massed outside or tried to take Gorazde and argued that it was better to have fewer vulnerable troops on the ground when that happened.

"Extensive use of air power...will certainly sap the will of most advancing forces," he said. "The main onus of the new air planning is to hit wide, hard and safely and nonproportionally."

Gorazde: UN 'Unclear' on Convoys After Incident

AU2508151395 Paris AFP in English 1437 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 25 (AFP)—Eighty UN peacekeepers were shipped out of the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde Friday [25 August] with the rest of the group of 170 British troops and 10 Norwegian medics to follow, said UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki.

The 180 British and Norwegians had all been scheduled to leave Friday, following the withdrawal of 72 Ukrainian troops Wednesday, but the plans appeared to be confused by an incident late Thursday in which two Bosnian soldiers were shot dead entering the UN camp.

Bosnian police demanded that two of the three intended convoys, one of personnel and two of equipment, remain in Gorazde until an investigation was complete into a 15-minute firefight between British and Bosnian troops at the UN camp in Gorazde late Thursday, said Sochacki.

The firefight broke out after a group of renegade Bosnian troops entered the camp apparently attempting to steal equipment before it was withdrawn. One Bosnian soldier was thought to have been wounded in addition to the two killed in the incident which London called a "minor incursion."

Speaking in Sarajevo, Sochacki said that, despite the Bosnian police's demands, all three convoys left Gorazde Friday. She said she did not know if the troops involved in the firefight with the renegade Bosnian troops were among those who had left.

The UN officials were unclear over which convoys were taking what out of the pocket. They said they could not say if any of all the troops who had left Gorazde Friday were British or if some were from the Norweigian medical unit.

UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon had initially said that the first convoy would be equipment, the second vehicles, and the third would transport 120 personnel, leaving about 60 people behind.

But Sochacki said later the first convoy transported 76 troops, and the second had four peacekeepers who drove vehicles. A third convoy of equipment which left Gorazde had no peacekeepers on board, she said.

Sochacki, who had earlier said that the United Nations hoped to remove all the British peacekeepers by the end of Friday, said later in the day that the evacuation would be completed by the end of the month.

Half of British Troops Leave

LD2508162095 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1254 GMT 25 Aug 95

[Report by Roger Williams]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Half of the British troops acting as peacekeepers in the Gorazde enclave in Bosnia left the area today hours after one of their last patrols came under fire from "local hoods."

The first two convoys made their planned departure as military investigators said that early reports of an attack by the Bosnian Army were exaggerated.

Two men in Bosnian uniform were killed and a third was injured when members of the British patrol returned fire during the incident early today. None of the British soldiers was hurt.

"It wasn't a full-scale attack as it was at first thought to be," said a Ministry of Defence spokesman.

"About four or five intruders were seen getting through the perimeter fence of the base, at least one of whom was armed.

"They wore a mixture of military and civilian clothing. We believe they were a small group of local hoods chancing their arm to see what they could steal. They were probably after petrol or food."

At the time of the incident the 170 Royal Welch Fusiliers were preparing to leave Cotswold camp in Gorazde after a UN decision that the area would be defended from the air in future, the Ministry of Defense said.

Half left this morning, and the rest were expected to be out over the weekend. All were on their way to Belgrade, for a flight back to Britain within days.

The spokesman said the small group of soldiers on the patrol put up a flare to illuminate the area after spotting the intruders.

After the exchange of fire, they found two dead Bosnians and a trail of blood indicating that a third was injured.

First reports from the scene to local UN headquarters had suggested a bigger attack was in progress, but these had later been "clarified" after investigation. [passage omitted]

UN Says 99 Departed

AU2508185895 Paris AFP in English
1808 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 25 (AFP)—A total of 99 peacekeepers and medics left Gorazde on Friday [25 August], leaving 87 peacekeepers, military observers, and medics in the surrounded enclave, said UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki.

As of late Friday, two Ukrainian peacekeepers remained in Gorazde of a Ukrainian peacekeeping force of 74. The other 72 were transported out on Thursday.

Four Norwegian medics attached to the British peacekeeping contingent here remained in Gorazde as of late Friday, but six left on the three convoys that departed for Belgrade.

A total of 77 British peacekeepers, officers, and administrative personnel remained in Gorazde late Friday, while 92 were evacuated on the three convoys out on Friday, said Sochacki.

One was also evacuated by helicopter because of a back problem, she said.

Four unarmed military observers also remained in place. They are the only of the UN forces expected to remain in the surrounded city past the end of the month.

UN Convoy Arrives for Materiel

AU2708161295 Paris AFP in English
1534 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 27 (AFP)—A UN military convoy arrived in the eastern enclave of Gorazde on Sunday [27 August] to remove British equipment as part of a withdrawal operation, a UN official said here.

The convoy was due to leave the Moslem-held enclave the same day. A spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said around 100 of the 187 British troops in Gorazde had already left.

A Ukrainian contingent left the enclave last week, and the UNPROFOR spokesman said the last British soldiers would be leaving on Tuesday.

The Bosnian Government gave its agreement to the withdrawal of the last peacekeepers from Gorazde on Friday, after the troops there came under attack from Bosnian soldiers.

Once the troops have left, the only UN presence in the enclave, which is home to some 60,000 people, will be four military observers.

UK Materiel Departs With Convoy

AU2708182295 Paris AFP in English
1752 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 27 (AFP)—A UN military convoy left the eastern enclave of Gorazde on Sunday [27 August] to remove British equipment as part of a withdrawal operation, a UN official said here.

Several of the 87 peacekeepers still in the Moslem-held enclave left with the convoy as escorts at 4:20 p.m. (1420 GMT), with the remainder due out Tuesday, said a UN spokesman. [passage omitted]

Army Challenges UK Version

AU2508183295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 95

[Statement by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 81st Division]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] [words indistinct] base of the UN British Battalion in Gorazde, in which two people were killed. We have a statement by the 81st Division Information Service.

[Unidentified correspondent] Prompted by the incident, the 81st Division Command has stated that this cannot be seen as an incident between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members. The investigation has not yet shed light on all the circumstances that led to the killings; the British claim that they were attacked by four armed men; however there is no evidence on the ground which would prove that anyone was shooting at UNPROFOR. One of the deceased was armed, but the weapon had not been fired. He was killed in the immediate vicinity of the barbed wire [words indistinct], which [word indistinct] British battalion, while the other deceased, killed by the barbed wire fence, was unarmed.

All these facts are known to the command of the British battalion in Gorazde, although details of the incident will only be known once the investigating teams finish their part of the job. All the relevant evidence implies that this was simply a case of smugglers settling accounts amongst themselves. This has nothing to do with relations between the commands of the 81st Division and the British battalion, which have always been at a satisfactory level.

EU's Koschnik Threatens Withdrawal From Mostar

LD2608123595 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1208 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 26 (TANJUG)—The European administrator for Mostar threatend Friday to withdraw international police forces from the southern Bosnian city divided between Muslims and Croats unless local Croats dropped a blockade on their Muslim neighbours.

In a statement to German radio, Hans Koschnik blamed Croats for keeping the two communities living in separate ghettos, limiting Muslims' access to the western part of the city, and blocking their efforts to return to homes they had fled, REUTER reports.

Local Croats were also refusing to forge a common police force with the Muslims and European officials, insisting that only Croat officers patrol their part of the city.

Koschnik said that there would be no unified city of Mostar without a unified police nor would there be freedom of movement of the population from one to the other side of the Neretva River.

The EU took over Mostar in July 1994 for two years to rebuild the city devastated in a year of fighting between Bosnian Croats and Muslims.

Radio: EU Failed in Mostar

LD2708121995 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1141 GMT 27 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 27 (TANJUG)—The European administration of Mostar has failed completely since it has not managed to realize its most important task: to secure freedom of movement for the people and set up a mixed police force, Muslim Radio Mostar said Sunday.

The line of separation between the Muslim, east, and Croat, west Mostar is becoming increasingly clear and marked, so that Mostar has definitely become a divided city, the radio said.

The checkpoint in the city's center where 250 citizens of Mostar who wish to cross from one part of the city to the other are daily registered, is now being fortified and reinforced instead of being dismantled, Radio Mostar said.

This city in the south of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was the site of the fiercest clashes in the year-long Muslim-Croat conflicts which began in the spring of 1993. In the fighting, Croats destroyed a stone bridge dating back to the middle ages which had been protected by UNESCO as part of the world heritage.

Mostar was completely destroyed in the fighting and divided into a Muslim and a Croat part. Mutual distrust did not disappear even after Muslims and Croats signed an agreement on forming a binational federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the spring of last year, at the insistence of the United States.

At the beginning of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muslims and Croats completed ethnic cleansing operations against Serbs in Mostar, expelling all 30,000 of them.

The European Union took over administration of the city in July 1994 for a period of two years.

Muslim and Croat police still control their respective parts of the city, so that it is hardly likely that a joint police force will be set up in six weeks, which is the deadline for this set by European administrator for Mostar Hans Koschnik, Radio Mostar said.

Koschnik, a German, threatened on Friday that he would pull out the international police force from Mostar if Croats continued to keep their Muslim population in a ghetto, banning them access to western parts of the city and preventing them from returning to their homes which they had left during the fighting.

Karadzic Ready To Compromise; Wants 64 Percent

AU2608150495 Paris AFP in English
0105 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 26 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said late Friday [26 August] he was ready to make compromises to speed up the end of the war, but would never accept less than 64 percent of Bosnian territory.

Speaking on television in Pale, capital of the self-declared Serb Republic in Bosnia, Karadzic said, "What matters most is to end the war as quickly as possible," adding that "we must be prepared to accept certain compromises" to achieve that end.

On the other hand, he added, it was out of the question to accept any solution which would endanger the vital interests of the Serb Republic, and anything less than 64 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be unfair and harmful.

The frontiers must follow the Una and Save Rivers in the west and north, and the Drina bordering Serbia, and must include part of Sarajevo and the Neretva valley in the southeast, as well as an access to the sea.

Karadzic said the Bosnian Serbs should also have full rights in negotiations on settling the conflict.

The Bosnian Serb leader was speaking ahead of a new U.S. attempt next week to achieve a settlement, when Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke visits the region.

Holbrooke has ruled out meeting the Bosnian Serbs, who he described as the main obstacle to peace. He warned they would have to face the consequences of their continued refusal to accept an international peace settlement which would give them 49 percent of Bosnia.

Serbia's Bogdanovic Visits Serb Republic

AU2708205495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 95 p 16

[Report by BETA: "SPS Resuming Contacts With RS Leadership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, Banja Luka—BETA has learned from its sources close to the Bosnian Serb authorities that SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] senior official Radmilo Bogdanovic at the beginning of this week visited the territory of the Serb Republic [RS]. According to BETA's sources, on 22 August Bogdanovic was in Banja Luka, where he met representatives of the police and economic organizations. It is not known whether he also talked with General Ratko Mladic, military commander of the Bosnian Serb forces, who is also in the region.

Bogdanovic also visited Bijeljina and Zvornik. It is not known whether Bogdanovic met any member of the Bosnian Serb top political leadership. At the time he visited Zvornik (in the middle of the week), RS President Radovan Karadzic and Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik traveled to eastern Herzegovina, which means that their paths may have crossed. Among people in the know about the political situation in Belgrade, Bogdanovic is considered a member of the so-called hard-line wing of the SPS which advocates greater help to the Serbs west of the Drina.

Gen Gvero Protests 'Smear Campaign' Against Army

AU2508202495 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 p 12

[Statement by Bosnian Serb General Milan Gvero: "The Army Has Something To Say"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Unable to respond through regular and legal channels to the lies and accusations presented by individuals in daily, hours-long appearances on television, radio, newspapers, and in other ways in the Serb Republic, General Milan Gvero has issued the following statement through the Information Service of the Serb Republic Army:

"The people and the Serb Republic Army, particularly in these fateful times, expect a public word of truth and realistic encouragement from those whom they have reason to trust, because in the past three and a half years of war they have always disclosed the real situation, identified problems, and successfully solved them. They expect a public word from their officers, generals, and Gen. Mladic in particular. The people and the Army are asking themselves why they do not appear in place of those who have nothing else to say or real to promise and whose promises never come true, yet who nevertheless openly doubt and attack precisely the Army and its commanders, at the same time claiming that the officers have nothing to say and do not wish to speak publicly.

"Although the people and the Army know the truth, I wish to disclose certain facts that will appropriately inform the public.

"First, the order of the president of the republic No. 01-226, submitted to the Serb Republic Main Headquarters, reads: 'I forbid all military personnel, without exception, in the Serb Republic Army to make public statements.'

"Second, the order of the president of the republic No. 01-1029, states, among other things, that: 'Information and all types of statements are exclusively disseminated through the Information Ministry.... Information for the media outside the Serb Republic, the activities of correspondents, agencies, and other information sources is to be carried out with prior agreement with the Information Ministry. Statements by individuals, members of the Serb Republic Army...are subject to censorship prior to broadcasting or distribution.... Those people or institutions that act contrary to the stipulations of this order will be punished....'

"Third, a special order of the president of the republic orders the closing down of certain vital segments of the war information system, which for three years very successfully informed the domestic and foreign public with quick, accurate, and reliable information about the fighting in the region. Had the order been implemented, the information vacuum would be immense. Very often there were requests for the removal of top people, professionals within the Army information system, banning army publications in units, and the like.

"Fourth, the influence of Army members on the quality of radio and television programs and items in papers was obstructed, so that these program and items soon lost their credibility and immediacy. The amateurish preparation of the programs and items led to the disclosure of numerous military secrets; we have warned the president of the republic and other officials of this, but to no avail.

"It is clear that in the information area, the Serb Republic Army receives original treatment, based on inaccurate assumptions, ignorance of the problems involved, even distrust, with strong and obvious single-party demands. Although unwillingly, I felt it was necessary to state these facts. I would not like to be forced to state numerous other facts pertaining to other issues in the coming period.

"I believe that no one has the right to create any rifts within the people and the Army, and particularly persistently to propagate untruths and accusations that inevitably lead to confrontation and deepening of the rifts. It is unrealistic and hazardous, and also at the expense of the people, to expect someone to slander you publicly and engage in a smear campaign while the one attacked keeps silent in the interest of the nation and the struggle. The person attacked would keep quiet if he were convinced that it were in the interest of the nation; however, it is obviously to its detriment.

"It is high time that those who engage in willful behavior refrained from doing so, respected knowledge and professionalism everywhere, including in the army, whose principal commitment is to defend the territory and the people and provide the conditions for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the interest of our people and all the others. The Army can and will carry out its work and the least it can expect is not to be obstructed by those who should support it as their own, wholeheartedly and with conviction, or would perhaps to expect something be too much and too unrealistic," Gvero asks.

Serb Radio: Mladic 'Badly Informed' on Media

AU2508190595 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Reacting to today's statement by Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Serb Republic Army General Staff, the staff of the Serb Radio Television's editor in chief has issued the following statement:

Although we do not and cannot agree with the part of the statement by Lt. Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Serb Republic Army General Staff, that the Serb Republic media, as well as Serb Radio Television, ever attacked the Serb Republic Army General Staff, we consider it crucial and absolutely agree with the part of Lt. Gen. Mladic's statement that calls for an end to any kind of showdown in the media. We think Lt. Gen. Mladic has often been badly informed and this has led him to believe that Serb Radio Television has something against the General Staff. How could Serb Radio Television spread rumors about a military coup, for example, or other lies in the Serb Republic? It is common knowledge that these lies originated from the Belgrade-based BETA agency and other, mostly private, media that were organized in a hurry. What we do not yet know is who in the Serb Republic supplies the so-called media with these lies.

We completely support Lt. Gen. Mladic's demand for the unity in defending our fatherland that is so badly needed. We support his demand for an end to every media war on Serb territory and feel indignation about all allegations that we are boycotting the General Staff and the Serb Republic Army. Our doors remain wide open to honest Serb soldiers and officers and we promise to inform our viewers and listeners objectively about everything that relates to the defense of the country and our freedom, ends the statement by the staff of the Serb Radio Television editor in chief.

Tudjman Addresses Crowds Along Zagreb, Split Rail

Slavonia Will Be Liberated

LD2608074695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0610 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman at Zagreb railway station before his departure for Split by train on 26 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian ladies and gentlemen and dear Zagreb citizens: Why are we giving so much importance to this event? [applause] It is not merely because a train is running for the first time between the capital of Croatia and Split, the Dalmatian [word indistinct] of Croatian statehood, after four years, one month, and two days. It is, above all, because this symbolizes the fact that we have finally crushed the Yugo-communist and Serb aggression against Croatia [applause], and we have crushed it in Knin, that den of Chetnik anti-Croatian fervor.

As you know, the struggle for the establishment of a free, independent, autonomous, and sovereign Croatia was difficult also in view of the internal and international circumstances. At the end of 1991 and at the beginning of 1992, we had one third of the continental part of Croatia occupied, and we gradually liberated it, the Dubrovnik hinterland, Dubrovnik itself, Maslenica, the Medak pocket, western Slavonia and now central Croatia, Banija, Kordun, Lika, northern Dalmatia [applause], and today only eastern Slavonia, our Vukovar and Baranja, are occupied. This is still 4.5 [as heard] percent of the land area of Croatia or 2.5 percent of the total sovereign territory, including coastal areas of Croatia. So we can say that virtually the whole of Croatia has been completely liberated and the part which has not will be soon in one way or another. [applause]

After "Operation Lightning" in western Slavonia, "Operation Croatian Summer" in Bosnia, and "Operation Storm" [in Krajina], here we are, before the world, here is Croatia as a power which all our friends, but also all those who would be happier if we did not exist, will have to reckon with. But today not only Greater Serb Chetnik elements but also the whole world knows that, with the liberation of Knin, the future of Croatia has been finally and definitively strengthened and no one can question this any more. [applause]

Dear Croatian brothers and sisters: This undertaking to liberate this central part of Croatia cost our Croatian state about one billion kunas. We had to mobilize almost 100,000 people, which also cost money. But what we have liberated and captured, including military hardware, is worth more than two billion kunas, and what in particular cannot be expressed in terms of monetary value is this firm future for Croatia, in view of the fact that those who sought to endanger the Croatian national body no longer exist. This cannot be expressed in any kind of monetary terms, but this step means that the future of the Croatian state, the sovereign and independent Croatian state, is secured once and for all for future centuries and millennia. [applause]

As I said, the direct economic benefits are very big. The national wealth of Croatia has increased certainly by about 10 percent with the liberation of these central Croatian areas. The costs of transportation, rail, road, and air transport, have been reduced by 20 to 30 percent. We can say they have been reduced by a quarter. The oil pipeline is working and no one will any longer be able to interrupt it, and this oil pipeline, [words indistinct] will also link us with Central Europe. [applause]

We have incorporated four hydroelectric power stations into our electricity supply system, this is production worth the equivalent of the nuclear power station in Krsko [Slovenia]. All in all, we have thus created more favorable conditions for economic, cultural, and all other forms of development. In this way, regardless of the fact that we still have to directly invest huge resources in these hitherto occupied areas, nevertheless, the conditions have been created for us to improve the living standard of our people and especially those strata which we have not been able to help because of the conditions of war. Because we have had to develop the Army, we have not been able to help them sufficiently.

We have so far recommended to Zagreb and other towns that they give our senior citizens free travel on the trams. From this place, I call on the minister of transport and railways to give free transport on the Croatian railways to senior citizens for one month. Let them see and take a look at this devastated but beautiful Croatia. Let them go to the Croatian seaside, which foreign tourists have been frightened away from, but from next year they will be teeming down there from the whole of Europe and the whole world. After this month let them be given the maximum price reductions, probably not less than 50 percent. [applause]

I will oblige the Croatian Government to consider and see whether this year, perhaps even from next month, it can raise pensions for Croatian pensioners, at least by five percent, and next year by 10 percent or more, depending on the circumstances facing us in resolving the problem of the remaining occupied territory and in resolving all our problems.

In any event, as I have told you, we have achieved the liberation of Knin and all the central areas of Croatia; we have created the economic conditions for more rapid economic development and for the gradual increase of the living standard so that we can really transform Croatia into a country of greater wealth and well-being. [applause]

We are faced with the task of liberating western Srem and eastern Slavonia, with Vukovar, the symbol of the Croatian struggle for freedom, and the return to eastern Slavonia and Baranja of the displaced persons, and we will quite certainly do this in the coming months either by peaceful means or by a new [Operation] "Storm." [applause]

And this is not because the world is asking us to seek a peaceful solution, but above all, because we want to avoid fresh casualties. I have always said that every Croatian life is dear to me, as is any Croatian blood, the dearest in this world, and that we will do everything we can to see that there are no more casualties, but if we are unable to achieve our aims, we will, of course have to, as we did on this occasion [sentence as heard]. Hence, dear displaced persons, and I can see you here from eastern Slavonia and Baranja, be calm and rest assured that the time for your return is coming for you, too. [applause]

And our beautiful Croatia will be as we would like to see it and as we promised when we set up a free, democratic, independent state of Croatia in Zagreb on a cloudy day of [words indistinct] 1990. We have carried out all our promises so far. And we were able to carry them out because the Croatian nation was united and because it trusted those people and forces who knew how to establish Croatia and lead it to freedom, independence, and international recognition. And Zagreb in this respect was among the first in doing this, as befits the capital of Croatia. Long live Zagreb and our eternal Croatia! [applause]

Serbs Had Human, Ethnic Rights

LD2608112695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman at Karlovac train station—live; monitored in progress]

[FBIS Translated Text] ... You here in Karlovac have been exposed to attempts to Serbianize Karlovac, as there were attempts to Serbianize the whole of Croatia. And you here in Karlovac, like the whole of the Croatian nation, wanted to prove that Croatia could be the homeland of all those who accepted it. But unfortunately, a large part of the Serb population did not accept this Croatian homeland.

Here in Karlovac they ruled, as they did throughout Croatia, using the main elements of the authority in Croatia [sentence as heard]. There were 60 percent of them here in Karlovac, even 65 percent of them were in the police, and they were also present in the financial system and in all other important services. When we set up a free, independent, sovereign, democratic Croatian state, we called on the Serbs in Croatia to be loyal citizens of Croatia so that we might guarantee them all human and ethnic rights, but they could no longer rule Croatia. But they did not accept this, and they raised their hand against the Croatian state and the Croatian nation. [applause]

In the Yugo-communist aggression, in the aggression by that Yugoslav Army which was considered to be the third or fourth military power in Europe, and also in the aggression by the whole of Serbia, which, together with this Yugo-army, armed the Serbs in Croatia, they delivered serious blows on us. They endangered the democratic Croatian state.

We had one third of central Croatia occupied and devastated. Four hundred thousand Croatian and other people, Hungarians, Germans, Ruthenes, and Slovaks, were driven from Croatian areas. From these areas alone which we have just liberated during "Operation Storm," 120,000 people were driven out. Here on this Freedom Train we have displaced persons and war disabled. We have with us a mother, Kata Soljic, whose four sons were killed in the war. [applause]

We also have with us here on this train, Mrs. Miletic, an 82-year-old woman, who crossed Mt. Velebit on foot in order to return to her Lovinac. She suffered and shed blood as a result of this Yugo-communist and Serb aggression, and because of the aggression of the Serb people in Croatia.

But Croatia offered to these Serbs, even in these past few days when we liberated our areas, that we would guarantee them both human and ethnic rights if they recognized this Croatian state. However, they decided themselves, and in the face of the power of our army, to abandon Knin, Dalmatinsko Zagorje, Lika, Kordun, and Banija, and they left. May they have a good journey. [applause] They did not want this state.

Those who remain or who will return on an individual basis, we will recognize their civil rights, but they will never be able to rule Croatia, or serve those who wanted to rule Croatia and who [word indistinct] Croatia.

They came before or after the Ottoman conquerors, three and a half centuries ago. They placed Vienna, Pest [Budapest], and Belgrade in their active service. And now, after having established democratic Croatia they wanted to bring it down. And, when they failed to destroy it [words indistinct], the Croatian state proclaimed in 1990, then they rose up and tried to join a greater Serbia. We prevented this.

Despite this, at the same time we not only promised but in reality we gave them rights. They had jobs in schools, at Zagreb university, in the judiciary, and in the judiciary here in Karlovac; even now, I believe, one third of the 21 judges in the municipal and county court here are Serbs, seven Serbs here in Karlovac. They are in the police today, at least 68 percent, but there should be only three or four percent in terms of their numbers. [figures as heard] They are in the Zagreb supreme courts and in the universities and in Croatia's state parliament.

So we offered them, we gave them, and we guaranteed them civil rights, we guaranteed their ethnic rights. They accepted none of this. Most of them left and now the world, some unreasonable people in Croatia and in the world, suppose that we have carried out ethnic cleansing.

No. Even at the time of "Operation Storm," both I and the Croatian Government called on them to stay. However, they left. [applause] Naturally, in this war which we have seen, these 120,000 people from these areas, from Karlovac to Knin, were not able merrily to enter their homes, their devastated villages; they were not able to welcome merrily the Serbs who destroyed their homes, Catholic churches, and schools.

Naturally, in this war, in which Croatia also suffered casualties, it was inevitable that some Serb homes would be destroyed. I, personally, as the president of Croatia, and the Croatian authorities, we condemn such incidents. We called on Croatian people to refrain from committing any acts of revenge over and above the military fighting which was unavoidable if we wanted to liberate Croatian areas.

But, dear Croatian brothers and sisters, [words indistinct] in the world who either do not know what the situation was like in Croatia, or do not want to accept a sovereign Croatia, I will remind you of the old oath from biblical times which proclaimed the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. People have experienced bitterness and have had evil done to them. This should be overcome in such a way that those who committed the evil should not have evil done to them.

No state in the world, or even the most organized army, in the United States, in Great Britain or in Israel, has succeeded in preventing incidents from taking place in their wars. We, too, were unable to do this, although we condemn all the incidents which have taken place and we call on Croatian people not to take revenge and not to destroy the houses of Serbs who have left, because this is now Croatian property [applause].

And we still have to accommodate these 380,000 displaced people and refugees. We have to accommodate them in homes, houses, and properties which have been left on Croatian soil and which are the property of the Croatian people and the Croatian state. [applause]

Today, 96 percent of the land area of Croatia has been liberated, and in terms of the total sovereignty of Croatia, including the coastal areas, this figure is 97.5 percent.

So today, as Croatia is celebrating the victorious success of its democracy and the success of its Army, which we managed to create in the framework of the war, in conditions when the whole world was against us, today this Croatian nation also calls on the remaining Serbs to accept the Croatian state as their homeland, and it will continue to guarantee their rights here both in Karlovac, which they wanted to conquer and incorporate into a greater Serbia, and in all other areas: they can stay as citizens, but of course, they should never dream of Karlovac being Kordunovac and of ruling the whole of Croatia. [applause]

We, dear Croatian brothers and sisters, from this day onwards, the day of the freedom of all Croatian areas in central Croatia, and soon the remaining area in eastern Slavonia and Baranja, we will now devote ourselves to developing our democracy, our economy, and our culture. We will develop our Croatia into a country of happiness and well-being. We will build our country in such a way that people from Croatia no longer wish to leave it and go to all parts, all countries of the world, but want to return to it. And on this train we have people who are already returning. And there will be an increasing number of them. And our Croatia will be a country of all freedoms, well-being and happiness. Long live Croatian Karlovac and our eternal Croatia.

Urges Croats Abroad To Return

LD2608125195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman at Gospic train station—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian men and women from the heroic Lika and this part of the Croatian littoral, dear Croatian youth, Croatian soldiers,

Thank you for this cordial welcome on the behalf of everyone on the Train of Freedom; and on the Train of Freedom today is the entire Croatia, and not just representatives on the train, but displaced people, Croatian wounded people and invalids, statesmen and businessmen, representatives of all Croatian regions, Croatian people who are returning from the world, but above all you citizens of Lika are on the Train of Freedom and you have the most right to be on the train because Lika is that region of Croatia which, since ancient times, has suffered the most for the Croatian cause, starting from the (Krvavska) battle 400 years ago. Ever since then, they tried to turn Lika into a Serb region, they wanted to depopulate it of Croats, but Lika did not give in.

We suffered a defeat in the (Krvavska) battle, but we managed to stay on our feet. They also crushed the (?Grusanski) uprising during the 6 January dictatorship.

The entire Lika was mobilized during World War II both on the side of the NDH [Independent State of Croatia; German-controlled puppet state during WWII] and on the side of the partisans. The Croatian partisans tried to drag the Serb population out of the Chetnik hands and to make them see that if they wanted to live in Croatia, they had to accept Croatia's hand and endorse the Croatian homeland as their country. Despite the fact that the Croat Lika partisans were for this and despite the fact that they partially liberated them from the Chetnik hands, until this very day they have not accepted Croatia's hand of reconciliation and coexistence, but at the time when a sovereign, democratic, and independent Croatia was being proclaimed, they raised their hand against the Croatian state. And now, when we started to liberate the occupied areas, they ignored our calls and left.

But today Lika is free, although... [crowd applauds and chants: Franjo, Franjo] although depopulated. Lika has given a significant contribution to the creation and defense of this free, independent, democratic, and sovereign Croatian state.

Today Lika, and I on its behalf, on the behalf of Lika and the entire Croatia, call on the Lika Croats and other Croat people living on all continents, from distant Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay in South America, from Canada and the United States to Australia and New Zealand, I call on them to return to the free and democratic Croatia. [applause]

The Croatian people will greet them with open hands and love in their hearts, and the Croatian Government has the task to organize their return by air and sea from the most distant parts of the world, the return of the people who were driven away from the Croatian land just because they wanted to remain Croats and because they were prevented from doing that even in their own homeland.

Now that Croatia is free, they can return, and we shall offer them lands, farms, and a free country. [applause] These people who had to look for bread in deserts of Chile, Canada, and Australia, these people who have realized that there is no more beautiful country than the Croatian country and the Croatian sea, they will now have the opportunity to return to their country. [crowd applauds and chants: Franjo, Franjo]

Everything we have so far achieved regarding the creation of the free and independent Croatia, we have achieved through the unity of the Croats here and abroad [words indistinct].

The Croatian emigrants have given a significant contribution to Croatia's freedom, the development of Croatia, the Croatian Army, the Croatian state administration and the Croatian diplomatic service. Some 200 people from abroad are in the Croatian diplomatic service, and some are holding even top diplomatic posts. Croatian emigrants are also in the government, they are also ministers. Some are even generals in the Croatian Army, some in the state administration, and some in the forefront of the Croatian economy.

But now when almost the entire Croatia is free, apart from eastern Slavonia, Vukovar and Baranja, and they will be liberated soon, now is the time for the people of Lika and the rest of Croatia to start returning from all the countries I have mentioned, and whom [words indistinct] I have met throughout the world, to return to the depopulated but now free areas and to take part in the economic and cultural development of our beautiful homeland. And they can rest assured that Croatia will provide them with more opportunities for economic and cultural development than any other country.

I saw for myself, and I am sure you too, that these people abroad had difficulties in succeeding and how even when they were successful, they shed tears when they saw the Croatian [words indistinct], the Croatian flag. And today the Croats here and abroad have created their own state, we have it and [words indistinct]. [crowd applauds and chants: Franjo, Franjo]

From this place, I call on everyone taking part in the Croatian state administration and economic life not to put up obstacles, but, on the contrary, to find ways for these Croat people abroad to be received as cordially and as [word indistinct] as possible, because the future of the Croatian country depends on how many Croatian people there are. We have not liberated Croatia so that it is empty, without Croat people.

And since half of all Croats live on all continents, then it is time to bring them back to our Croatian land. And Croatia deserves to be the homeland of those who were expelled from it and to be the happy land of those who stayed and who have contributed most to our freedom, our democracy, our independence.

Furthermore, we are today recognized by the world and needed by democratic European and world powers so that the new democratic order can be established in this part of Europe, so that the democratic world can rely on the Croatian might because we have proved that no one is stronger in this part of former Yugoslavia. [crowd applauds and chants: Franjo, Franjo]

This is the future of the Croatian nation, this unity of the Croatian people is the guarantee that we shall complete the liberation of our homeland and that we shall develop the Croatian homeland into the country of happiness and prosperity for all Croat people and for all those who recognize the Croatian state as their country.

Long live heroic Lika, long live eternal Croatia! [applause]

Serbs in Knin Threatened Zagreb

LD2608151395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman at Knin train station—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian women and men, dear Croatian youth, Croatian soldiers, dear citizens of Knin, all who have survived here and who have returned and all your guests who have gathered here on this day. We can accept what [Croatian Army Knin commander] General Ivan Cermak said; we can call this the day when the Croatian historical cross has been completed.

Usually participants of historical events are not aware of the importance of the events in which they take part. What we have done today by bringing this Train of Freedom from Zagreb, the capital of all Croats, to Knin, the royal Croatian city, on the way to Split in Croatian Dalmatia, the cradle of the Croatian statehood, this is not just the opening of a railway, this is not just the liberation of the occupied areas, but this is the laying of the foundations for an independent and sovereign Croatian state for the future centuries. [applause]

As long as they [the Serbs] were in Knin, as long as Knin was under occupation, the future of the Croatian state was not assured. "Since Operation Storm," since today, it is. No one will be ever able to threaten it.

Knin was not just the capital of Croatian King Zvonimir, but Knin was the capital of the kingdom of Croatia at the time when we did not have our own rulers from our own blood until 1522, when it was captured by the Turks and when those who were in our Croatian Knin until yesterday came together with them. And from today, this is Croatian Knin.

And there can be no return to the past, to the times when they were spreading cancer in the heart of Croatia, a cancer that was destroying the Croatian national being and that did not allow the Croatian people to be masters in their own houses and did not allow Croatia to lead an independent and sovereign life under this wide, blue sky and within the world community of sovereign nations.

It is up to Croatian historians to explain today in this free and sovereign Croatia how come Knin became a den of Chetnik anti-Croatianism. Knin, which, as I have said, was the capital of Croatia until 1522, a Knin which despite the fact that the remaining population was given some kind of concessions since the Turkish, Austrian and Hungarian times, and they multiplied. [sentence as heard] But, nevertheless until the end of World War I, the Croats were in the majority in Knin. At the time of the unification of Croatia with Serbia into the former Yugoslav community, according to the 1910 census, 68 percent of the population were Croats and 32 percent orthodox Serbs in Knin. In 1991, there were just 14 percent of Croats here in the heart of Croatia and 86 percent Serbs. [applause]

It should be researched and explained to the Croatian people and the world why Knin became a Chetnik den and why they left not just Knin but also took everything with them connected with the idea of a greater Serbia, the idea of joining Croatian areas to a greater Serbian Yugoslavia or to a greater Serbia itself. [sentence as heard]

Maybe the younger generation does not know that in 1941, when the former Yugoslavia disintegrated, a Knin outlaw [name indistinct] and priest Momcilo Djuric compiled a list on the behalf of 100 Serb intellectuals and on the behalf of 100,000 Serbs and demanded, offered themselves to fascist Italy, so that fascist Italy would join this Knin Krajina and Dalmatia to Italy.

You are also not aware of the fact that when Croatian Communists, and even those Serbs who were in the Communist movement, started an antifascist struggle, that here in (?Odric) on 11 August 1941 those citizens of Knin whom I have mentioned, signed an agreement with Italians against the Independent State of Croatia and with fascist Italy to fight the Croatians.

What has happened historically is that Knin became such an anti-Croatian horror place, which lead them to start a struggle against an independent and democratic Croatia in 1990, but which also brought about their ignominious disappearance from Knin and the region so it is as if they have never lived here! [applause]

To achieve this, dear Croatian brothers and sisters, we had to unite the disunited Croatian people. We had to muster all Croatian wit and reject all Croatian stupidity. We had to create our own Croatian Army, our own Armed Forces, with which we were capable of defeating them and convince and prove to the world that we are capable of preserving and ruling our country. [crowd cheers and shouts: Franjo, Franjo]

Here in Knin they were creating their own Serb state in order to unify it with those Bosnian Serbs and Serbia and their Yugoslavia. Here in Knin they were saying that they had three Serb pine threes. Here in Knin they were preparing for a long-term war. They were printing their own money and then, owing to the strength of the Croatian Army, the wisdom of our decisions and our leadership, they disappeared in two to three days. [lengthy applause]

They didn't even have the time to take with them their filthy foreign currency or their underwear. [applause]

I have already said today that we paid a very high price, one billion Kunas, for "Operation Storm," and before that for the Croatian summer of '95 in the Bosnian hinterland. I have also said that we seized their weapons and military equipment and all the other things we took from factories which are twice as valuable as this.

We should also say this: The liberation of Knin and central Croatian parts, from here to Sisak, they [Serbs] were 28 km away from Zagreb [applause], we had to pay for it in blood. In this operation, some 200 Crotian people lost their lives and over 1,000 Croatian soldiers and civilians were wounded. The Serbs did not just run away. They tried to put up resistance and they suffered more than three times as many losses. This also means that we will know how to value what we conquered at the price of Croatian blood, and we shall never allow anyone to jeopardize our freedom, our democracy, our beautiful Croatian land, in which there must be room not only for all Croatian people, but also for all those expelled Croats whom I invited to return when I was in Gospic.

It goes without saying that from fertile areas to all these parts we liberated there will be room for all our people, and our nation will celebrate its freedom and build its Croatia, for which, since King Zvonimir, too many Croatian people died and too many of our sons suffered in the dungeons of Venice, Vienna, Budapest, and Belgrade. We knew what lessons to draw from our history in order to get to where we are now: freedom, which is truly the end of the Croatian crusade. As to what remains to be done, Vukovar, the Croatian symbol [applause], eastern Slavonia and Baranja, [continuing applause], are in the east of the Croatian country. The Croatian nation is now stronger, not only stronger, but also fully consolidated following the liberation of Knin and central parts of Croatia. God willing, we shall liberate the remaining territory by peaceful means and without loss of life, with help from the international community. If this proves impossible, we shall use our force. [applause]

Dear Croatian brothers and sisters, I invite you to start on the revival of Knin, so we can populate it, and not just Knin, but also Benkovac, Obrovac, and all the area up to the Plitvice lakes and Sisak. We must revive and build the whole of Croatia, so it can become a country of which every Croat can be proud, and all Croats can be from today, and a country of wealth and happiness of all Croatian people.

Everlasting glory to all the Croatian heroes and knights who gave their lives so that the Croatian flag can be hoisted on Zvonimir's fortress, so that Croatian future can be secured. Eternal life to our one and only Croatia. [applause]

Unity Established State, Army

LD2608220095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman after his arrival in Split on the first train from Zagreb via Knin in four years—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian women and men, dear men and beautiful women of Split, dear Croatian brothers from the entire southern Croatia, Dalmatia and Herzeg-Bosnia [applause], dear Croatian youth, Croatian knights of the Croatian Armed Forces, the Croatian Navy, the Army, and our Air Force, members of the police forces, thank you all on behalf of all of us who arrived on board the Train of Freedom to be given such a magnificent welcome. [cries of "Franjo, Franjo"]

In January 1990, I saw for the first time the heart of Split and Croatian Dalmatia which I believed in just as I did in the whole of the Croatian nation, although many political [word indistinct] advised me at the time against going to Split, saying: what would happen, there were meetings in Split, 20,000-30,0000 people were taking part, what will happen to us when we come with a program which they consider dangerous, a program of creating a free and independent Croatia of which many did not even dare think. You see, I believed in you, in the Croatian people, in fishermen, laborers, true Croatian intellectuals [applause]. I believed in Croatian youth which, sadly, I had more of a chance to meet abroad, expelled from our homeland, and I also believed in mature Croatian people and in laborers such as the one who wrote to me the other day, [name indistinct], a 94-year-old man [applause] who said the simple truth, which I have carried in me since childhood and felt in the hearts of all Croatian people everywhere. Let us create a Croatia in which we will be allowed to say that we are Croats, masters in our own home.

Of course, as Mr. Perkovic said, this kind of idea, this kind of program required a scientific approach to history, but more than anything it required what no science can feel, estimate, and express, which is: the belief in one's own nation, one's own men, in the Croatian spirit which has survived here for thousands of years.

This gathering today, and the welcome you prepared for the Train of Freedom...[pauses] and in this Train of Freedom I have brought to you the whole of Croatia, I have brought it to you, to the arms of Split, Croatia's Dalmatia, which was the fatherland of Croatia's statehood. There were in the Train of Freedom not only high state, church, and military officials, diplomats, and Croatian businessmen, there were also Croatia's refugees, Croatia's wounded, and invalids. There were in the Train of Freedom people from all regions of Croatia, as well as people from Croatia's diaspora, from distant Canada, Argentina, and Australia; people who were expelled from this area, but who will return.

I met thousands and thousands of those people in the deserts of Canada, Australia, and Chile. Around 30,000 descendants of the residents of Brac live in distant Chile, in the Antofagasta Desert where they were banished because they could not be Croats in their own country and could not have a crust of bread [uses Serbian word "hljeb"] here. In case someone thinks that I made a mistake and said "hljeb" instead of "kruh" [Croatian word for bread], no, in Croatian we say crumb [hljeb] of bread [kruh], but others used to take it and gave us nothing. [applause]

The belief in the Croatian people, the uniting of the Croats in the homeland and in the diaspora, the unity between two divided poles of Croatia, which in World War II waged war against one another under other people's flags or under the Croatian flag, but still fought one against the other [incomplete sentence as heard].

It is only with this kind of unity, between all regions, all classes, and the Croats at home and abroad, that we could establish the independent, democratic, autonomous Croatian state and create the Armed Forces which have recently completely liberated all central Croatian areas [applause], which liberated Knin, that old Croatian royal town, the site of King Zvonimir's throne, the see of the Croatian bishop at a time when the Croatian bishopric stretched all the way to the Drava River.

Since then Croatia has lived through difficult times. In the middle of Knin, in the very heart of Croatia, they created an alien body which was supposed to nip in the bud Croatia's freedom and the Croatian state, which was supposed either to make Croatia Serbian or conquer it all the way to Karlobag; if not to Karlobag, then to Zadar where three Croatian seas meet; if not to Zadar, then to Split, to Makarska or the Neretva River. They wanted all that, but we thwarted their plans. [applause]

Today we have a free and powerful Croatian state which is capable of liberating the small but important part of the Croatian homeland in eastern Slavonia, with its symbol of Croatian resistance, Vukovar, and with rich Baranja. The world is again recommending to us to be patient and do that by peaceful means. And I told them again: Yes, we will wait and see whether, with your help, we can liberate eastern Slavonia and Baranja by peaceful means. I would like this to happen by peaceful means, so we can spare any further victims and enable our refugees to return. But if this proves impossible, as it was impossible to liberate the central Croatian areas, there will be new storms and new thunders! [stormy applause]

Many times at various meetings I have said that the Croatian people, especially Croatian leaders, have to be extremely wise and determined. We must listen to the world's advice, but unfortunately, dear Croatian brothers and sisters, we had not been given any advice as to how to attain our freedom and our state. We had to make our own decisions in order to create the Croatian state, to defend it, and to build it the way we wanted.

Had we listened to the advice of dilettanti and would-be philosophers in our own Croatian country and of the ones abroad, who criticized us and recommended all sorts of things, we would not have had a Croatian state, we would not have come here today, on board the Train of Freedom. [applause, cries of "Franjo"]

When I attended my first meeting on this spot, also surprisingly big and magificent, though not as big as the one today, I promised you in a perhaps concealed way the creation of a free Croatia. A year ago I promised your mayor, esteemed Mr. Grabic, to come to Split from Zagreb by train. [applause] I kept these two big promises. It seems he still hasn't cleaned your port. You must help him a bit and the Croatian Government will also help.

Before that, I kept my promise to Croatian basketball players made in Barcelona that I would invite them for dinner in Knin's fortress. I kept that promise, too.

[applause] That promise was particularly dear to me, but also important because these Croatian boys, Croatian ambassadors, mostly come from Zagora and from Split. [applause]

What else is left for me to promise you? [cries of "Vukovar, Vukovar"]

Of course, first of all Vukovar, ths symbol of Croatian resistance in the defense of the established and independent Croatian state, Vukovar and fertile Slavonia and Baranja, because Croatia has always belonged to countries with access to the Danube, and it shall remain so. [cries of "Franjo, Franjo"]

We will fulfill this promise together, the Croatian people and its policies and, if need be, with its Armed Forces. The second promise refers to the return of thousands, tens and hundreds of thousands, of Croatian people from all the continents of the world. From the North to the South Pole, from the westernmost to the easternmost points, from one part of the world to another, there are Croats everywhere. We must return them to the hearths of their ancestors. I have met the second generation. When they heard Croatian songs, although born there, some who have never even seen the beaufitul Croatian land, cried when they heard Croatian words and the anthem. We have now created a free Croatia and we have something to offer to them. Invite them to return. [applause]

I make a pledge to myself and to all of you, to the whole of Croatia, the authorities and all the people to do this, to ensure that as many of them as possible return.

The third promise will be fulfilled straight away or in a few months, when we liberate both Vukovar and Baranja, to unite our brains and our muscles in the construction of Croatia, in the reconstruction of our homeland, in the economic, cultural, and scientific development of our homeland.

I think this could be our joint duty, just like creating everything else so far with our own resources, the resources of our own people and with God's help, but as you know and as the Bible says, God will help those who help themselves. And we had no past examples to draw on. But now we know, we have discovered how to do it, how to establish a free and independent Croatia and how to defend it and build it. We know we have to reject everything which had divided us, all the negative things, and accept all the positive things which can contribute to the independence and freedom of our homeland, happiness and prosperity of the Croatian people.

This, our dear Croatian brothers and sisters, should be our obligation.

Now allow me to express one or two little wishes. Let Hajduk Soccer Club of Split become a team which will compete in Europe together with the Croatia Soccer Club of Zagreb. We need two strong teams. [applause]

We have great successes in all sport competitions. We are a small country, but a great nation. Even more perseverance, even more work, and even better leadership are needed for that.

But, dear Croatian brothers and sisters, if they did not want to see Croatia in the world three to four years ago, today Croatia is not just recognized, but it is also needed also by those countries which do not want to play matches in Croatia. But they will have to play them. [stormy applause]

Today even those world powers which until yesterday told us in their fear that we would not be able to liberate western Slavonia, Knin, and we have done that in a better way and more swiftly then they did in their storm campaigns, must count on Croatia as a democratic country and on Croatia as a military power [applause], and as I have already said, on Croatia as a democratic country and on a Croatia which has powerful armed forces. [stormy applause]

There is no task in the interest of the Croatian people, Croatian freedom, and the Croatian state that we cannot carry out. But we must be extremely cautious and, at the same time, extremely resolute, and even more efficient and effective in implementing national policy in order to achieve as soon as possible full freedom and the greatest possible results in reconstruction and progress in all areas of improving living standards. I think you heard what I said in Zagreb and elsewhere, so I will not repeat it.

Let me take this opportunity to thank all of you, from the young to the mature people, who had to suffer all the evil that befell the Croatian people during nine long centuries and the last seven decades of life in the former Yugoslavia, which were even more difficult. I would like to thank you all for your contribution in creating free Croatia, and especially members of our Armed Forces and police. [applause] We should pay homage to them and remember our duty to take care of the families of all those whose sons, brothers, or fathers lay down their lives to found this free Croatian state. Peace and glory be with them.

As for the rest of us, I wish us a happy journey. (?Holy) ships under Croatian flags, which are for the first time in Croatian history sailing under the Croatian flag, both Navy and commercial ships. [sentenced as heard] Hitherto our Croatian sailors have had to sail under other people's flags and command or obey orders in someone else's language. Today, this sea, our fleet, this land, this sky are all Croatian; they are ours and they will be what we want them to be.

Long live eternal Croatia! [applause]

Tudjman's Anti-Serb Sentiments Cause 'Concern'

LD2708192495 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1846 GMT 27 Aug 95

[Article by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—The Tudjman regime's celebration of the expulsion of Serbs from Krajina culminated on Saturday in a Zagreb-Split train ride, Croatia's first through Serb Krajina. The victory ride was marked with unprecedented anti-Serb chauvinist sentiments, with the travellers and the multitude assembled along the track gloating at Croatia's newly acquired ethnic purity.

Many of the statements made by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and his associates at stops along the way should give rise to deep concern on the part of the democratic world. Their speeches again clearly showed that the present regime aspires to emulate the fascist Independent State of Croatia (NDH) which existed during World War II and where more than a million Serbs were murdered in an effort to destroy them as a nation.

Tudjman's speeches in Zagreb, Karlovac, Gospic, Knin, and Split smacked strongly of a chauvinist euphoria, clothed in a thesis that the Serbs had "risen against the Croatian regime" and the Croatian people whom they had "oppressed through history."

Tudjman explained that Croatia had "suffered through the aggression of the Serb people...who had come to this area three and a half centuries ago."

Serbs had in fact settled in the area much earlier, as evident from the fact that their first monasteries in Serb Krajina date as far back as the early 14th century (the Krupa Monastery, for instance, was built in 1317).

Tudjman "the historian" said that in 1941, the Serbs in Knin had "signed an agreement with Italy against the NDH, with fascist Italy to fight all things Croatian," a statement apparently designed to obscure Croatia's fascist past.

As if this were not enough to prove the fascist basis and roots of his regime, Tudjman quoted figures to show that, "in Croatia's heartland," i.e., Knin, in 1991, the population was barely 14 percent Croat, and 86 percent Serb.

However, Tudjman exulted in the fact that the "Serbs have just vanished from this area, as if they never lived here at all," driven away by the Croatian Army's "Operation Storm," which did not give them time even to collect "their dirty currency and their dirty undewear."

He eulogised the Croatian war machine, exclaiming that "there can be no going back to what once was: a cancer spreading from the living body of Croatia to destroy the Croatian national spirit, to prevent the Croats from being alone, masters in their own land."

The statement laid bare the true aim of his regime, which is to have an ethnically pure Croatia.

Croatia's invasion of Serb Krajina has displaced a quarter of a million Serbs, leaving behind barely 3 percent of the original Serb community, which had accounted for 22 percent of Croatia's population before Tudjman came to power in 1990.

Tudjman, who is gaining a reputation in the world as a Croatian Duce (after Italy's notorious Il Duce, Benito Mussolini), threatened Serbs in eastern Slavonia with the same fate as that meted out to the rest of Serb Krajina, boasting of Croatia being a military power to be reckoned with.

U.S. Congressmen Briefed on FRY Army Actions

LD2508181695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 95

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of General STaff of the Croatian Army, and Defense Minister Gojko Susak this evening received at separate meetings a delegation of U.S. senators and congressmen. At the end of their talks Cervenko and Susak made brief statements. Albino Cekic reports:

[Cervenko] "This was a group of senators who were interested in the situation in the area of the former Yugoslavia. I believe that I clarified some things for them very well. They know these things in part, but they sought more detailed explanations. They were interested chiefly in knowing how the Yugoslav Army is involved in this war. I believe I do not need to tell our people anything special about this. We have known this since 1990, and we now know this, too, that the Yugoslav Army is involved in the territory of eastern Slavonia, that it is under the direct command of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, that the 12th Corps is in Vojvodina, that the forces of the Yugoslav Army are there in eastern Slavonia, that Yugoslav officers are there, etc. I even gave them a written report on this, because I have very, very precise information."

[Cekic] Minister Gojko Susak, after his one hour of talks with the U.S. guests, stated briefly:

[Susak] "This was a delegation of people from Congress and the Senate. I spoke of the need for Congress to make some money available in the form of aid for mine-clearance work in the liberated areas of Croatia. They said they would meet this request. They asked about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina; they congratulated us on our action in Krajina. That was about it. All the talks were held with what we call a parliamentary delegation; they were not executive authorities, and part of the talks focused on how to improve relations between Croatia and the United States, so my reaction is positive."

All 'Operation Storm' Troops To Be Demobilized

LD2608184095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following the successful "Operation Storm," Croatian Army units are returning home in glory. Let us see what it was like in Pazin this afternoon. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording Zvonimir Cervenko, Croatian army chief of General Staff] All Croatian Army units which were mobilized and took part in the operation are already being demobilized. Around 40,000 soldiers were demobilized by today. All the other ones, who have not yet been demobilized, will most certainly be demobilized over the next few days. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Cease-Fire in Eastern Slavonia; RSK Comments

LD2508141395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The commanders of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina and of the Osijek operational area of the Croatian Army today reached a cease-fire agreement which is to come into effect at 1200 [1000 GMT] tomorrow, the Corps command in Vukovar has announced.

The agreement was reached at talks held at the Sarvas-Nemetin border crossing and was signed by Major-General Dusan Loncar of the Serb Army of Krajina and the Croatian Army's Major-General Djuro Decak.

The meeting was organized with mediation of the UN peace forces' commander in Sector East, Gen Freddy van de Wegh [name as received]. It was agreed that, in order to supervise the cease-fire agreement, UN observers should be allowed to return to their checkpoints on the Croatian side of the separation line, where they had been deployed until the aggression against western Slavonia in early May.

Milan Milanovic, assistant defense minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], told TANJUG that the cease-fire agreement was the first condition for starting the negotiations between the Serb and Croatian sides. "I would like to stress in particular that we acceded to the Croatian side's acceptance of the cease-fire with great caution and that our army's combat readiness will continue to enable us to respond to any immediate Croatian attack," Milanovic added.

He announced that Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, will arrive in Erdut probably on Monday or Tuesday, which could mark the opening of the negotiating process on the future of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

Commenting on the predictions that the remaining free part of the RSK could be granted the status of the so-called blue zone over the next five years, or in other words, become territory under UN administration, Milanovic said that this could be a compromise solution between Croatian demands to return eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem into the Republic of Croatia and the unanimous stance of the Serbs from that area to become part of Yugoslavia.

"Of course, this can be discussed only if the zone's safety is firmly guaranteed by Russia, the United States, the EU and the UN, and if it is made possible for the population to decide in a referendum with whom they want to live, when the conditions for a referendum are ripe," Milanovic added.

UN: Cease-Fire Holding

AU2708125895 Paris AFP in English 1245 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 27 (AFP)—The day-old cease-fire between Croatian and rebel Serb forces seems to be holding in eastern Slavonia, UN officials said Sunday [27 August]. "The level of activity is very, very low," a UN spokesman here said. "There have only been 15 shots since the cease-fire came into force compared with dozens on previous days. It seems to have been respected so far."

The cease-fire, agreed Friday, took effect Saturday at midday (1000 GMT) in a bid to lower tension in the region in the far east of Croatia, which borders with Serbia and is the last Croatian territory still in the hands of rebel Serbs. The Serbs accused the Croatian Army of breaking the cease-fire early Saturday afternoon, the Belgrade-based TANJUG news agency said.

UN General Freddy Van de Weghe, commander in the region, said there had been "practically no breaches since noon Saturday." However he said there had "not yet been much progress" in freeing up the movement of UN personnel, while noting positive signs.

The question is to be examined Tuesday at a new meeting of local Croatian and Serb commanders to review the status of Friday's agreement, he added. With the situation stabilised, the agreement should allow political negotiations.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman threatened Saturday to retake eastern Slavonia by force if diplomatic efforts to recover the region did not succeed over the next three or four months.

Croatia Violating Cease-Fire

LD2808105295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 28 August (SRNA)—On the separation lines in eastern Slavonia, Croatian Army units have continued seriously violating the cease-fire agreement signed on 25 August, the command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina announced today.

Early this morning the Croatian Army opened fire from the Nard area at the positions of the Serb Army of Krajina around the villages of Jagodnjak and Bolman. Last night it opened infantry weapon and mortar fire from the area of the village of Jarmina at Serb Army of Krajina positions near the village of Ceric.

The statement stresses that the Serb arm of Krajina did not respond to the attacks, strictly observing the cease-fire agreement.

AFP: EU Efforts Ease Dubrovnik Tensions

AU2608173795 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Report by Jacques Charmelot]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 26 (AFP)—International mediation efforts were easing tension Saturday [26 August] in two Croatian flashpoints where Serb forces and Croatian Army troops have faced off for weeks, threatening renewed hostilities in the former Yugoslav republic.

A UN-brokered cease-fire came into force at midday Saturday in eastern Slavonia, the last Serb-held region in Croatia, the United Nations said.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has appeared ambivalent over plans for resuming control of the territory, pledging recently that Croatia would "very soon" recover eastern Slavonia, while later promising to wait "three or four months" to see if diplomatic efforts could find a solution to the impasse.

Meanwhile around Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast, Croatian forces and Bosnian Serbs across the border in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina have still their guns ahead of EU-brokered talks next week between local Serb and Croat leaders.

Bosnian Serb forces shelled Dubrovnik on August 12 and Croatia massed thousands of troops, threatening to push the Bosnian Serbs back out of shelling range of the Croatian city.

Since then, the mediation efforts have stepped up as part of a broader diplomatic push for a political settlement to the four-year imbroglio in the former Yugoslavia.

The United States and Russia in particular have accelerated the push for a Balkans-wide settlement, with Washington earlier this month trawling a peace plan around Europe and former Yugoslavia in a bid to break the deadlock.

But Washington and Moscow have long feared a Croatian military offensive against eastern Slavonia could trigger a wider Yugoslav war, sucking Belgrade into the quagmire and scuttling any well-meaning diplomatic peace initiatives.

Eastern Slavonia has seen an alarming arms build-up and sporadic artillery exchanges since Zagreb recaptured nearby western Slavonia in May and overran the Serb-held Krajina region earlier this month.

Saturday's cease-fire, to be followed by a meeting between Serb and Croatian local commanders Tuesday, has had a calming influence on the powderkeg region, UN officials said in Zagreb Saturday.

"It has been much calmer" in eastern Slavonia since the deal was forged Friday, one UN source said, adding that the truce had ushered in "a lowering of tension" in the region.

The cease-fire will lead to political negotiations on the future of the lush, oil-rich region bordering Serbia, according to UN representative General Freddy Van de Weghe, who brokered the talks.

The agreement also provides for the return of UN observers to a buffer zone delineating eastern Slavonia from the rest of Croatia, which they left at the start of May when Croatian troops retook control of nearby western Slavonia, the TANJUG news agency in Belgrade said.

UN special representative for former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, is expected in eastern Slavonia next week to hammer out details of UN troop redeployment in the separation zone. While UN officials have led mediation efforts in eastern Slavonia, EU officials have brokered talks between Bosnian Serbs and Croatian authorities in Dubrovnik.

As well as noting the Croatian troop build up in the region, UN officials have also reported a troop build-up in neighbouring Montenegro, Serbia's partner in the rump Yugoslav state, once again raising the prospect of Belgrade and Zagreb trading significant military blows. The talks thus appear to have come at a critical juncture, with a UN official saying the current calm provoked by the mediation was "an encouraging sign."

Eastern Slavonia was the scene in 1991 of some of the bitterest fighting of the war between Croatia and the Serb separatists, made infamous in the destruction of the town of Vukovar.

Dubrovnik Area on Alert

LD2608192895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a report from the Dubrovnik county information service this evening, Serb artillery attacks from eastern Herzegovina on the Dubrovnik area were stepped up this afternoon. Civilian and industrial facilities were targeted again. According to reports received so far, there were no casualties in the attacks, but fresh damage was caused. A general alert is in effect in the whole area between Slano and Prevlaka.

Bosnian Serbs Shell Dubrovnik

LD2808084095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Since this morning, Bosnian Serb artillery has been opening sporadic fire at targets in the Dubrovnik area from eastern Herzegovina. The county information center has warned that extreme caution should be exercised in all areas between Slano and Konavle, where a general alert is still in force.

Zagreb Ignoring Proof of Abuse of Krajina Serbs

LD2508160095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 25 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic rejected accusations, and irrefutable proof, coming from the world over about the violation of human rights of Serbs and their mistreatment by Croatian troops. Granic was reported as telling the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayal in Geneva Friday that "the Croatian Army had undertaken no action against the civilian population."

Granic said that on the contrary the Croatian Army had done its utmost to "protect the civilian population and their property."

A few days earlier Jose Ayal had asked the Croatian Government to give an explanation for the behaviour of Croatian troops in the territory of Krajina.

Granic's explanation is both insolent and false. He denies something that is already known by the whole world and clear to the whole world, the brutal behaviour of the Croatian soldiers, looting of Serb houses, destruction and torching of Serb property.

Granic told Ayal that the Croatian Army had received instructions to exercise maximum restraint in actions that would be dangerous for the civilian population and their property but allowed for some "isolated incidents."

He did not explain what he meant by "isolated incidents." He obviously thinks that they are the expulsion 200,000 Serbs, destruction and burning of houses, and setting up of numerous camps in which Croats hold the Serbs who did not manage to flee.

Granic's attempt to convince the high UN official that Zagreb would do its utmost to protect civilians in Krajina and their property is therefore both cynical and naive.

Granic's claims were refuted in a most striking way by the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross Cornelio Somaruga.

In an interview carried by the Swiss daily BERNER ZEITUNG, Somaruga noted that it had to be said clearly that terrible things had happened in Krajina. He said that in Banja Luka he had personally seen injured Krajina civilians who had been bombed by planes while fleeing.

He also said that UN peacekeepers had informed him that they had discovered mass graves in Krajina.

ICRC: 10,000 Unaccounted For

AU2508165195 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 25 (AFP)—Humanitarian workers have been unable to locate some 10,000 missing Serb refugees thought to have fled the Croatian offensive in Krajina, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said Friday [25 August]. Josue Anselmo, ICRC spokesman in Belgrade, told AFP that the search was continuing in the town of Spacva, in Croatia's far east, where 4,000 of the refugees were thought to have been sheltering.

Emma Bonino, European commissioner for humanitarian aid, told a press conference here Tuesday that 10,000 Serb refugees from Krajina, the breakaway Serb region recaptured by Croatian forces early this month, were reported missing. Of those, 4,000 were thought to be in housed in a motel complex in Lipovac, a town on the border between Croatia and Serbia.

Bonino spoke of a "complex affair" because neither Zagreb nor the United Nations were unaware of the fate of the refugees. ICRC workers have travelled throughout the heavily wooded area around Spacva and have searched the motel complex itself without finding any trace of the refugees, Anselmo said.

Pavle Todorovic, head of the Yugoslav committee on humanitarian issues and missing people, told AFP that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had informed Yugoslav authorities that between 35,000 and 45,000 refugees left the region of Topusko, 60 kilometres (35 miles) south of Zagreb, after Croatian units attacked Krajina. He said these refugees were thought to have taken the road from Zagreb to Belgrade en route to the rump Yugoslavia comprising Serbia and Montenegro.

Only 25,000 of these refugees have crossed the Serbian border, said Todorovic, leaving between 10,000 and 15,000 people unaccounted for. According to an independent humanitarian source, the group of between 35,000 and 45,000 refugees split into two and traversed Bosnia.

Serbian Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, has sent a letter to the United Nations asking it to look into the refugees' fate. At least 200,000 Serb refugees left Krajina after the Croatian offensive was launched on August 4, of whom some 165,000 have arrived in Serbia.

Knin: UN Continues Talks on Serb 'War Criminals'

AU2708173995 Paris AFP in English
1647 GMT 27 Aug 95

[Report by Francoise Michel]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 27 (AFP)—UN officials over the weekend continued talks with the Croatian Government over the fate of more than 60 Serbs seen by Zagreb as "war criminals" in a complex row that has delayed the flight from Knin of hundreds of civilian Serb refugees.

Nearly 800 Serbs were given refuge by the United Nations at the UN base in the former Croatian Serb "capital" of Knin when Croatian troops stormed the Krajina area, recapturing it from the secessionist Serbs in four days at the start of August. Zagreb alleges 65 of the 786 Serbs now living in a gymnasium and in tents in the UN compound in the town are guilty of war crimes and wants them handed over before the Croatians will allow any of the refugees to leave.

Canadian UN General Alain Forand, the UN commander in Knin who took in the Serbs on August 4 when the Croatians launched their "Operation Storm," is calling for a quick solution to the impasse. Many of the refugees, he said, are old and ill. "I would appreciate clear and precise instructions," he told AFP by telephone. "The refugees don't understand why they can't leave. They're demoralised and are even talking about going on hunger strike. Some old people are falling sick, the nights are becoming cooler, there are hygiene problems," Forand said. "I want this problem sorted out as soon as possible."

The 786 Serbs are believed to be the only ones still remaining in the area, after tens of thousands of their brethren fled the Croatian advance, heading into Serbia and Serb-controlled territory in Bosnia. Some 120,000 to 130,000 people are believed to have fled to Serbia according to recent UN figures.

UN concerns about handing over the alleged war criminals have mounted as accounts have multiplied of reprisals by Croatian forces against Serbs in the Krajina since the offensive took place. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman Saturday [27 August] admitted that some reprisals had taken place and claimed it was wrong but understandable.

In a letter to UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi delivered on Friday, the Croatian Government said, refering to the Knin refugees, that "not one of these displaced people will be allowed to leave until the 65 have been handed over to the Croatian authorities," a UN source reported Sunday. The refugees had been due to depart Knin Saturday morning, but buses booked for the occasion were cancelled.

The United Nations has requested a list of suspects, but the Croatian authorities have so far failed to produce one. Likewise, Zagreb has rejected a UN call for the interrogations to be held at UN headquarters in Knin in the presence of an international observer.

The UN officials in Knin are meanwhile becoming exasperated but Forand doubted that he would get the go-ahead to hand over the suspects to the Croatians even if he wanted to. "No one will leave here until I get a written order," he said. "But I can't see the United Nations giving in on an issue of principle which affects human rights."

Should the United Nations and the Croatian Government strike a compromise however, Forand was apprehensive of the task which lay ahead. "Force will have to be used to separate the suspects from other refugees," he predicted. "I'm not here for that and I'm afraid the situation could degenerate. And even if we're able to separate them, I don't see myself as prison warden," he said.

Police Kill Serbs in Clash

LD2708183995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 95

[Report by correspondent Nada Surjak from Knin, including recording of remarks by Colonel General Ivan Cermak, commander of Knin operational area]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Our TV crew followed a Croatian police mopping-up operation near Knin today.

[Surjak] Special antiterrorist units of the Ministry of Interior are completing the mopping-up operation here around Plavno, 20 km north of Knin. Around 70 Serb civilians were found in some 10 hamlets. They requested, and were granted, permission to remain in Croatia, while a dozen requested protection from the UN Confidence Restoration Operation. However, there was a fierce clash in the hamlet of Grubor.

[Cermak, speaking in burned out hamlet] We are in the village of Grubor, one of the Chetnik strongholds where, as you can see, an armed clash occurred between Interior Ministry units and remaining Chetnik groups during the mopping-up operation. About 10 people put up resistance and the village was set on fire. Three members of the Chetnik group and two civilians were killed in the operation.

I went to the village of Grubor myself to see what happened and took you with me to see the facts and the truth, and prevent any more imputations to Croatia that there are cases of deliberate arson and murder. [passage omitted]

Babic To Meet With Serb Mayors

LD2608134295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Milan Babic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), has convened for tomorrow a session of his government members with the mayors and the coordination council of the municipalities of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

The meeting, according to the RSK bureau in Belgrade, will be held in Ilok to discuss the military situation and the accommodation of refugees. Special emphasis will be laid on the role of the coordination council of RSK municipalities in the negotiating process under the aegis of the international community.

Albanians Ask Clinton for Inclusion in Initiative

LD2608203695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 26 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Leaders of Albanian parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have asked U.S. President Bill Clinton to include a solution of the problem of Albanians living in the region in the U.S. initiative for a global solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, MAKPRES reports.

Unless a solution to the Albanian problem in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia is found, there can be no peace and no permanent stability in the region. This is stated in a letter to Clinton from Arben Dzaferi, Abdurahman Aliti, and Ilijaz Halimi, the chairmen of the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians, the Party for Democratic Prosperity, and the People's Democratic Party.

"The Albanian people in the former Yugoslavia—threatened by the Serbian occupation in Kosovo and by the revival of a unitary one-nation Slavo-Macedonian state in Macedonia—hope that the international community will abandon its practice of rewarding warmongering nations and accepting outcomes of wars," the letter to the U.S. president says.

The leaders of Macedonian Albanians demand that the international community "start working on a global settlement to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, applying the same principles and criteria."

Ahrens Dissatisfied With Albanian-FYROM Talks

AU2808120795 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 25 Aug 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Dissatisfaction at Results So Far"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gert Ahrens, the representative of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, who is mediating between the Macedonian Government and the representatives of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], held separate talks with the leaders of the Albanian political parties in Tetovo yesterday, and it is understood that he expressed dissatisfaction that these talks have so far yielded very little result. The Albanian participants in these talks accuse the government of not treating these talks with the proper seriousness and not respecting the agreement according to which, for the talks to have real effect, they should include the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Stoltenberg and Bildt. As is known, the latter has announced that he will soon be in Skopje.

The Gostivar Human Rights Forum has also recently expressed its dissatisfaction at the current status of the Albanians in Macedonia in a letter addressed to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. This paints a grim picture in almost every field, especially education, culture, the media, employment, and the representation of Albanians in state institutions, involving flagrant violations of human rights and freedoms and of European values and standards.

The letter also states that the Albanians are unreconciled to the status of a minority. Macedonia will be a stable state if it is built on the concept of the two largest ethnic communities, the Macedonians and the Albanians. Meanwhile, the Macedonian side has so far maintained the opposite position, and has denied any discrimination against the Albanians.

The state leader Gligorov has even repeated that the nationalities in Macedonia enjoy all rights in accordance with European and international standards. Meanwhile, there are analysts who assert that reality lies somewhere in between.

PDP: Government 'Undermining' Talks

AU2708150495 Skopje MIC in English 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In the statement for MAKPRES, immediately after the end of the talks with Gert Ahrens (mediator for minority issues of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia), the leader of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Arben Dzaferi says that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia is undermining these talks by already introducing into parliamentary procedure the legal projects that are actually the theme of the negotiations.

"We talked about the local self-management, the high education, the use of the languages, and the Government has already adopted these legal projects."

To the question whether that also means a possible withdrawal of the PDP from the talks with Gert Ahrens, Dzaferi says that one should be very careful in such a situation, not to make any sharp moves for the sake of the global situation in the region.

Concerning the unconfirmed information about the submitted joint platform of his party, PDP and NDP [People's Democratic Party], Dzaferi says in the statement for MAKPRES that such a document will be handed to Mr. Ahrens during the afternoon party of the talks in Skopje.

Further on Talks

AU2608131095 Skopje MIC in English 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The first part of the talks between the mediator for minority issues of the International Conference for Former Yugoslavia, Gert Ahrens, and the representatives of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] finished in Tetovo.

Regarding the unconfirmed information that during the talks Gert Ahrens was handed a mutual platform for the high education of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] of PDP, PDP of the Albanians and the National Democratic Party, a representative of the PDP negotiating team Mevljan Tairi told MAKPRES:

"The view of the three parties on this issue are very similar. PDP feels that this problem should be settled through the law on high education, which should enable the registration of high educational institutions also on the languages of the minorities. As to the submittal of some kind of joint platform, I am not informed about something like that," Mevljan Tairi said.

In the afternoon, the talks continued in Skopje, this time also in the presence of government representatives. The talks focused on the local self-management and the high education in Macedonia, however, MAKPRESS reports, the possibility of "analyzing other current issues" is not excluded.

Otherwise, in the statement for MAKPRES, Mevljan Tairi, on behalf of his party, expressed the dilemma concerning the party's future participation in the talks with Gert Ahrens.

"Although at this level, the talks about the problems with the local self-management and the high education are under way, the Macedonian Government has already adopted these two legal projects. This manner of working is not serious, to say the least," said Tairi.

The talks with the mediator of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia will continue tomorrow.

Poll: Support for Integration Into EU, NATO

WS2808071995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Aug 95 p 6

[Report by Jan Skorzynski: "Poles Look at the West"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A national consensus on the main goals of Polish foreign policy is already a fact. The strong social support for the idea of integrating into Western establishments continues. In line with the results of a nationwide opinion poll conducted by Demoskop, 71 percent of Poles would say yes, if a referendum were held today, to integration with NATO; Poland's entry to EU would be backed by 73 percent. The results of the poll, taken two months ago, in June, were similar: 74 percent in both polls.*

Affirmative answers prevailed overwhelmingly in all social and age groups. Also, peasants expressed approval for Poland's integration into NATO and EU (60 percent and 53 percent affirmative answers, respectively), even though in this group the percentage of people who did not have an opinion was the biggest (22 percent). Some 25 percent of the peasants said that they were against integration into EU.

Why do people say "yes" to the West-oriented policies? It seems that Poles would first of all present political arguments. Asked whether full integration of Poland into EU would in any way affect their incomes, 54 percent of the respondents gave a negative answer. Only 28 percent believe that membership in EU would exert some influence on their incomes. Also, according to most respondents, entry into the EU would not have any effect on their housing conditions: 71 percent gave a negative answer to this question (merely 17 percent are optimistic here). Most of the respondents believe that the way in which they spend their free time will not change much. As far as possibilities of getting a more attractive job are concerned, the respondents are more optimistic—40 percent of them believe that integration into EU will have an effect on that. However, pessimists prevail here as well (48 percent).

Demoskop also asked the respondents which partner gets greater benefits from the relations between Poland and the EU. According to 34 percent of the respondents, both sides benefit from them equally; 29 percent pointed to the EU countries, and 14 percent pointed to Poland. The EU enjoys a fairly good opinion as a business partner: 51 percent of the respondents believe that it is an honest partner, and 23 percent are of the opposite opinion.

Poles definitely want to join both NATO and the EU. Apparently they believe that this will be beneficial to the country. Exactly what kinds of benefits should that bring? What should be stressed are the moderate expectations regarding standards of living. A clear majority of the respondents do not expect their living standards to improve as a result of integration. Now, if they still support the Western option despite that, it probably means that they see first of all political advantages to integration rather than material ones. The realistic look at the future, as well as a strong desire to integrate, provide good equipment for the long journey. The most important thing is that the direction has already been shown.

Would you support in a referendum Poland's entry into:

	EU	NATO
	Percent	
Yes	73	71
No	10	13
Hard to tell	17	16

* * *

The poll was conducted on a random-quantitative [losowo-kwotowa] sample of 992 adult citizens of Poland.

Sejm Special Commission To Have Tight Security

WS2508143695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Jachowicz: "Behind Armored Doors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The parliamentary commission for controlling special services will work in extremely well-protected rooms. Yesterday the preparations were finished.*

The office of the special commission is housed in the so-called former Sejm hotel. The entrance to the hall is protected by a door of armored glass in a steel frame, equipped with a cipher lock. The door withstands the force of a moving van.

A camera registers everything within five meters from the door and transmits the video nonstop to Personal Security Unit functionaries on duty.

From the hall, the way leads to the secretary's room, which is behind yet another steel door with a cipher lock. Behind this room there is a soundproof conference room. The smallest room is that of the chairman, where, among other things, there is a safe with a cipher lock; the walls of the safe are half a meter thick. This is where documents forwarded by the Internal Affairs Ministry

[MSW] and Military Information Services [WSI], as well as minutes of meetings are to be kept.

Burglary-proof windowpanes make it impossible to take photographs from outside.

The rooms were inspected three times by independent teams to make sure there were no bugging devices.

The commission will consist of seven persons. There are 10 candidates. Yesterday Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, who, in line with preliminary plans, may be the chairman of the commission, told us that the commission is to be set up at the next sitting of the Sejm. However, according to our information, MSW forced the Sejm Presidium to postpone establishment of the commission by one month, because the Office of State Protection and WSI must x-ray the 10 candidates.

The Polish Peasant Party's club will send former Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak to the special commission. Asked why he had decided to work in the commission, he replied that when he was prime minister he had a chance to become familiar with the unique character of the special services. He added that no one should delude himself that the people in the special commission will get access to the special services' biggest secrets. According to Pawlak, the commission will not carry out a revolution. It must keep the balance between controlling, on the one hand, and not acting against the efficiency of those services, on the other.

Other candidates for membership to the commission are as follows: Krystyna Lybacka (SLD), Lucyna Pietrzyk (PSL—Polish Peasant Party), Bogdan Borusewicz (Freedom Union—UW), Jerzy Ciemniewski (UW), Tadeusz Kowalczyk (Republicans Party), Ryszard Olszewski (Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms), and Dariusz Wojcik (Confederation for an Independent Poland).

During a plenary session of the Sejm three of these 10 candidates will be rejected.

President Walesa's Close Aides Dismissed

LD2508144395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1421 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 25 Aug—The head of President Lech Walesa's Cabinet, Mieczyslaw Wachowski, and his spokesman, Leszek Spalinski, have been given dismissal notices.

Walesa Appoints Zakrzewski as Minister of State

LD2808134495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1315 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 28 Aug—President Lech Walesa appointed today Andrzej Zakrzewski to the post of minister of state, presidential press office announced. Minister of state represents the president where matters connected with the powers of the head of state are involved.

Zakrzewski heads the office for political services to the president at the chancellery and chairs the presidential council for Polish-Jewish relations.

According to the presidential press office, today's appointment does not mean that Zakrzewski is to replace Mieczyslaw Wachowski as head of the presidential office.

Another person who has the rank of minister of state in the presidential chancellery is Janusz Ziolkowski, former head of the presidential chancellery, who at present is a special presidential adviser for international relations among other things.

Explains Wachowski Dismissal

LD2808124195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Aug 95

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Antoni Stryczula in Warsaw on 28 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] *President Lech Walesa told Polish Radio today that, when aiming at a second presidential term, he decided to make vital changes in his chancellery, including dismissing Mieczyslaw Wachowski.*

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Just as Wachowski fitted in with certain concepts, he will not fit in with certain others for me. That's the first thing. Secondly, he is very tired by the constant attacks. Not a day passed, after all, without Wachowski getting it in the neck. In view of that, it was necessary to reorganize, but then again it wasn't as if we have here any quarrels with Wachowski. I worked very well with Wachowski and there are no quarrels, but he doesn't fit in with this concept for today and tomorrow.

[Antoni Stryczula] But do you see the possibility of his return?

[Walesa] In Poland there is so much work that there will be a place for my friend Wachowski too.

[Antoni Stryczula] You intend to run again for the office of president. What, in this context, is your comment on the support of the Christian National Union [ZChN] for your rival, Mrs. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz?

[Walesa] That is to say of the elite, of some sort of leading group, in which there are a few people less well disposed toward me. That's the first thing. Secondly, I am aiming my program at the broad masses of society and not at 35 people, and I think that apart from those 35 people, a few more people will support me and it isn't a problem. Of course, it would be nicer for me if the orientation with which I identify to a great extent was on my side with its cadre, but time will tell what will happen and how. [end recording]

Walesa Lawyer on Wachowski

WS2808115495 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 26-27 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Tomasz Kwiatkowski, presidential lawyer and former head of the President's Chancellery, by Agnieszka Kublik; place and date not given: "Wachowski Ran the Show; He Knew How To Keep Walesa Happy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kublik] Why did Walesa fire Wachowski?

[Kwiatkowski] Because the president finally found out that Wachowski had isolated him from normal people. If it had not been for that, Walesa, with all his brilliance and intelligence, would have seen with what people he was surrounding himself.

[Kublik] A few months ago Walesa publicly asserted that he would dismiss Wachowski if someone proved that he was not working well.

[Kwiatkowski] That is right.

[Kublik] Did you prove that?

[Kwiatkowski] Not only that, I did it.

[Kublik] Did you fight with Wachowski from the moment you came to work in the President's Chancellery?

[Kwiatkowski] Yes, I did. Over the past three months, the president was sick and tired of this combat of ours. He was sick and tired of both me and Wachowski. In my case it was because I always brought him bad news. I simply could not begin my visit with Walesa with a statement like this: "Mr. President, we have had a number of successes because yesterday was Monday and today is Tuesday."

[Kublik] Wachowski could do that?

[Kwiatkowski] He knew what to do to keep Walesa happy.

[Kublik] What did that war of yours look like?

[Kwiatkowski] Wachowski sabotaged all of the decisions I made. A manifestation of that was, for example, that on correspondence that was addressed to me, head of the Chancellery, he made additional notes beginning with the words "Mr. Kwiatkowski." He did that to all documents.

He changed every decision Walesa made after a discussion with me or with Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski. Wachowski was always near the president. He had plenty of time to persuade him.

When he ran out of arguments, he did such things as, for example, handing out the Derby award at horse races. I was able to persuade Walesa to return to the tradition of the Third Republic and to hand that award personally, just as President Moscicki did before World War II. Then Wachowski told the president that he had a tip-off from the secret services that Walesa would be assaulted by a group of NIE [weekly] militants.

[Kublik] Walesa always emphasizes that he makes decisions by himself. However, it follows from what you have just said that many issues were decided by Wachowski.

[Kwiatkowski] Fundamental issues are made by the president himself.

[Kublik] Then exactly which decisions by Walesa did Wachowski change?

[Kwiatkowski] Personnel decisions. On many occasions Walesa found out about Wachowski's decisions only after they had been made. In such situations, the president wanted to be loyal to him and did not back out of those decisions.

I know that Wachowski exerted influence on very important decisions as well. I will say no more.

[Kublik] Rumor has it that Wachowski was running the show in the Belweder.

[Kwiatkowski] He was; yes, he was. He decided whom Walesa would receive and whom he would not. For example, he decided that I, head of the Chancellery, should not be admitted to the president's meetings with politicians. I had to negotiate with soldiers at the gate to admit me to the Presidential Palace.

[Kublik] Perhaps this is just a show of a dismissal? After all, Wachowski has left behind in the Chancellery some of his people, such as Andrzej Kozakiewicz and newly appointed Chancellery Head Stanislaw Iwanicki.

[Kwiatkowski] Right, these are Wachowski's people. However, maybe they will cease to be his people now.

[Kublik] Will the Christian-National Union endorse Walesa after Wachowski's dismissal?

[Kwiatkowski] This dismissal can have such significance as well.

[Kublik] Do you think that those who have split with Walesa because of Wachowski will not come back to him?

[Kwiatkowski] Some of them, when they heard about Wachowski's sea voyage, declared that they might join Walesa's campaign.

[Kublik] This was not the first time Walesa dismissed Wachowski. However, before it was always only for a few hours. Maybe the same will happen this time?

[Kwiatkowski] I do not think he will come back.

Election Reportedly Scheduled for 5, 19 Nov

LD2508153895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Polish radio has unofficially learned that the presidential election will be held on 5 and 19 November.

The date of the presidential election will be officially announced on 6 September by Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych.

Walesa Confirms Candidacy for President

LD2808122495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 28 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has confirmed that he intends to run again for the highest office in the land because he is of the opinion that at this moment only he is capable of meeting the challenges which face Poland.

In an interview for Polish Radio, Lech Walesa stressed that the achievements of his five years of presidency were the best proof that he never let himself be taken by surprise and always chose the best solutions. Lech Walesa said he would not be directly seeking the church's support in the coming presidential elections. The president expressed the view that the support by the main board of the Christian National Union [ZChN] on Saturday [26 Aug] for the candidacy of [National Bank of Poland President] Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz did not have any great significance, because no more than 40 people participated in the vote.

The president did not rule out that the head of his office, Mieczyslaw Wachowski, who was dismissed on Friday, would work with him again in the future.

Reaction to ZChN Support of Gronkiewicz-Waltz

Walesa May Be Disappointed

LD2608211195 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The president is entitled to expect support from the Christian-National Union [ZChN] and it has certainly been a disappointment to him, Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski from the Presidential Chancellery told Radio Three when commenting on the ZChN's decision to support the candidacy of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz in the elections. According to Zakrzewski, the ZChN is not the strongest political party, and it is not its electorate which will decide the outcome of the elections.

The National Polish Bank president said she was pleased with the support she had received from the ZChN as a candidate. She said that this improved her chances in the elections, as well as political support for her.

Tomasz Kwiatkowski, undersecretary of state in the Presidential Chancellery, commented on the ZChN's decisions:

[Begin recording] [Kwiatkowski] I believe and I have always believed that one should not enter into this type of contract with Prof Chrzanowski [ZChN leader]. I am very worried because it is my party, and this has put me in a very awkward position, but I expected this to happen. If a clear supporter of the president in the ZChN had been appointed, such as for example Jan Lopuszanski, to replace me, as a result of my resignation, one could hardly have expected a change in their positions overnight.

[Correspondent Monika Olejnik] Do you think that the president has been misled by Prof Chrzanowski who promised him the ZChN's support?

[Kwiatkowski] Yes.

[Olejnik] Were such promises made?

[Kwiatkowski] I do not know that but I am sure this was the case. [end recording]

Other Parties Respond

WS2808120295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "K.Gr.", "A.W.": "Commotion on the Preelection Scene"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The last weekend abounded in important political decisions. The dismissal of [Belweder] Minister Wachowski gave rise to speculations* *of whether it was a sacrifice made for the sake of the Christian-National Union's [ZChN] support for Lech Walesa. ZChN, however, decided to support Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz in the presidential elections. Does this diminish Lech Walesa's real chances for reelection? What do other politicians make of the ZChN decision? Do they see it as ominous?*

Aleksander Kwasniewski admitted at a campaign rally in Sieradz that his most dangerous rivals are Lech Walesa, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Jacek Kuron. "But I will win the elections because I am the best," said the chairman of the Democratic Left Alliance of his chances. He claims the dismissal of Wachowski and [Spokesman] Spalinski is a desperate move targeted at winning public support. Kwasniewski criticized Walesa's statement that a communist nomenklatura wants to promote Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz to the highest state office as "an example of the incumbent president's lack of political imagination."

The decision made by ZChN to support Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz met with the approval of Professor Adam Strzembosz. At a news conference held on Sunday, Strzembosz said the decision is a blow to Lech Walesa, the rival on the right whom the professor sees as most threatening from the point of view of state interests. The ZChN decision, however, has not caused the presidential hopeful to change his stance. "I do not know whether ZChN's support will help or harm Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz," he said. He added that he is not surprised by ZChN's choice. The party could have split if it had supported him. He is optimistic about his chances in the elections and claims Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz will not take over any part of his constituency because it does not correspond with the "specific" ZChN constituency.

Strzembosz, who also met with former voivodes on Sunday, criticized the current implementation of the local government reform and announced he shall come forth with his own legislative initiative in this regard.

RZECZPOSPOLITA asked several politicians to comment on the ZChN decision to support Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

Jan Litynski of the Freedom Union maintains that ZChN's decision undoubtedly decreases Lech Walesa's chances. It currently seems Lech Walesa has no grouping he could count on to carry out his election campaign. Success does not depend solely on the potential of the candidate. The problem at hand is not the lack of ZChN's support which might decrease Lech Walesa's popularity, but the lack of a structure to back him.

Romuald Szeremietiew (Chairman of the Movement for the Republic) claims that ZChN's move does not diminish Walesa's chances. In reality, the decisions made by parties on whether to support a certain candidate do not have much influence on the choices made by voters. The support of the constituency depends primarily on the attitude of the candidate himself. The support of political parties is needed because of the apparatus they possess. It still remains unknown how the ZChN structures will react to the decision made by the top party authorities. From the organizational point of view, this might be a loss for the president. It is, however, a huge boost for the central bank president who did not have any structures to back her to date.

Jerzy Eysymontt of the Republican Party says it is difficult to assess the influence ZChN's decision will have for the outcome of the elections. "Considering the voting results, I do not exclude the possibility that a part of ZChN will support the incumbent president. Even so, this is a weakening of the president's prestige because, as far as I know, Walesa strongly counted on this support. I do not think that the support of any political parties, particularly the minor ones, is decisive at this point. The constituency might vote differently, including the ZChN constituency. Any deeper conclusions are premature," he told RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Tomasz Kwiatkowski, undersecretary of state at the Presidential Chancellery, does not believe the ZChN decision has profound meaning. He claims minor parties will not have a larger impact on choices made by the constituency.

Bishops Warn Against Electing Former Communists

LD2608100295 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0900 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish bishops, meeting at Jasna Gora, have issued a letter to the faithful on the subject of the presidential elections. With regard to choosing people for the highest offices, they warn against choosing those who, in the period of the totalitarian state, participated in the exercise of power at the highest party and government level. In the bishops' opinion, these people give no guarantee that they are able to rule differently from before, when they brought the nation to poverty and the state to dramatic debts.

The bishops stress that a candidate should be chosen who will defend ethical and evangelical values, while at the same time respecting the views of those of other faiths and nonbelievers. Catholics, in the bishops' opinion, cannot support candidates who do not recognize the right to life of every conceived child. They should also not vote for those people who reduce the church to an institution totally subordinate to the state.

Kwasniewski Denies Relevance

LD2708142695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1333 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Opole, 27 Aug—Aleksandr Kwasniewski, the leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], told a news conference in Opole today that the pastoral letter in which the Polish bishops warned against choosing people who had held power at the highest party and government level during the period of the totalitarian state for the highest office in the land does not apply to him.

"I understand that this comment concerned those party and government functionaries who brought our country to poverty. I am not among them, and I have no reason to be ashamed of holding the post of chairman of the Committee for Youth and Sports Affairs in the Polish People's Republic," Kwasniewski said.

When asked about the church's role in the coming [presidential] elections, the SLD candidate said that in his opinion the personal qualities of the candidates would be considerably more significant for the election results than the advice of religious counsellors.

Kwasniewski Aide Comments

LD2608192195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Danuta Waniek, head of Aleksander Kwasniewski's electoral staff, has remarked that she is not surprised by the episcopate's letter, in which the bishops warn believers against the election of a post-communist to the presidential office. In an interview for Polish Radio, Danuta Waniek said that no official statement on this matter should be expected.

[Begin Waniek recording] This could have been expected because it would have been a miracle if the bishops had not gotten involved in this way in the presidential election, as it is a political choice. I really regret this because Aleksander Kwasniewski has different objectives. He says that he will be the first to shake the winner's hand, if he loses. I deeply regret that so far nobody else has said anything similar.

It is obvious that the person connected with the previous system represents the most open attitude today. I can say that there is a certain distortion of the truth here because Aleksander Kwasniewski is 40 years old today. He was never a party official. He was never an employee of the party apparatus and he never held any posts in the party. There is no doubt that he was a minister. His activity in the post, as far as I know, left a very positive mark in the memory of the people who worked with him. [end recording]

Domestically Produced M-2000 To Replace MiG-21

WS2808145095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by "FID, KUC": "The Aviation Industry; Into the 21st Century on New Fighters From Mielec"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fighter of the 21st century to replace the rundown MiG-21 planes currently used by the Polish Air Force is to be the domestically produced M-2000, PANORAMA [newscast on Program 2 of Polish Television] reported yesterday. The craft will be a fully modernized version of the currently used MiG-29 produced by the Polish Aviation Plant in Mielec.

The new model will be an improved structure of the Russian MiG-29, but with new engines and electronic fittings manufactured in the West. The plane will be produced by a consortium established especially for this purpose, employing experts from Poland, Russia and a Western state.

A preliminary agreement provides that we will pay for the Russian craft license in kind with equipment and services—Polish shipyards, for instance, shall carry out overhauls of ships belonging to the Russian Baltic Sea Fleet.

The MiG-29 planes, of which the M-2000 is to be an improved version, are used by NATO air forces. They are the most advanced craft in the German Air Force—which has an air regiment of these planes in its fleet.

Justice, Interior Officials on Organized Crime

WS2808072095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Anna Kacperska: "Now You See the Mafia, Now You Don't?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Reports of ties between the criminal world and state officials are highly exaggerated," said Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski at a news conference he gave jointly with Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia yesterday on combating organized crime.*

"The criminal octopus is not infiltrating the government or the state apparatus," Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski told reporters. He only admitted that "organized crime with international connections resorting to criminal terrorism methods does exist." "The criminals are trying to establish ties with lower-ranking state officers and bank employees," Zimowski explained. He refused to talk about the findings of an investigation into mafia connections on the grounds that the information "is classified." "Let us not raise public fears," he appealed.

Several months ago, Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski stated that "the criminal world has ties with state officers on various levels." The prime minister has even received a special report on the subject recently. The Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] maintains that the mafia comes and goes in Poland. When we asked [Deputy] Minister Zimowski what to make of that, he replied, slightly irritated: "Let us not talk about the mafia further because there is nothing to talk about." He went on to add: "There are favorable conditions for a mafia to emerge. If, however, I were to tell my colleagues from Italy, the United States or Russia that we have a mafia, they would at least smile."

Perhaps we do, however, match international standards as to the number of organized crime groups. "Researching the phenomenon of 'criminal terrorism,' MSW counted 300 such groups. Nearly half are made up of citizens of various countries and have international ties."

According to MSW, in the first half of this year nearly as many gangsters from organized crime groups were detained as through all of 1994. "And we have not hired more police officers," said Zimowski proudly. Perhaps there will be more next year—the draft budget provides for creating 3,000 new jobs to enhance public safety.

To a question asked by ZYCIE WARSZAWY of why many heads of gangs have been dismissed on various grounds—discontinuance of legal proceedings, generally controversial illnesses or on bail (for example "Masa," "Dziki" and Ryszard P. from the Pruszkow gang), Zimowski replied: "Trials pertaining to organized crime are among the most difficult cases. You can prove guilt only of the small fry; it is very difficult in the case of gang leaders. This is not a Polish peculiarity—it is similar in the entire Western world."

Zimowski claims that evidence gathered by the police in the most serious cases turns out to be "quite controversial" in the courtroom. "That is why many criminals who we know have committed serious crimes are charged with small offenses which can be proved. This is only to keep them behind bars."

The justice minister stressed that independent courts issue sentences based on evidence gathered and the current law. He investigates such cases once every two months, particularly those that "have been going on for more than half a year."

Zimowski and Jaskiernia hope that things will improve once the amended police laws passed by the Sejm become effective—on "controlled purchases," "controlled offers of material gain," "supervised mail," and the institution of the "incognito witness."

As if by way of consolation, the deputy interior minister said that "huge forces" have been engaged to combat organized crime: special departments have been established in 15 cities, a special division exists within the Office of State Protection for combating criminal terrorism. Minister Jaskiernia added that in less than a year 11 departments combating this type of criminal activity were formed at prosecutors' offices throughout Poland. They are supervised by the Department for Coordinating the Prosecution of Organized Crime—which cooperates with the police, Interpol, the Border Guards, the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Main Customs Office, central tax inspection offices, and bank auditing services. On 1 October, eight voivodship prosecutors' offices are to resume operations after having been closed down three years ago.

Asked about the investigation that is currently carried out by MSW on the collection of signatures for Aleksander Kwasniewski, Zimowski confirmed these were incidental events and that the electioneering was "from outside, not from inside." As for the resignation of Vice Admiral Toczek for tolerating the collection of signatures in support of Lech Walesa at the Vistula Military Units, Zimowski said: "He paid the price mainly because he was the commander of that unit, not because he inspired the operation."

Asked by the ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter whether the current acting head of the Vistula Military Units Zbigniew Biezunski could have been uninvolved considering he was Toczek's deputy, Zimowski replied: "Nobody said he was aware of what was going on. You cannot go to the other extreme and cry for blood all the time."

Minister on Capital Privatization in 1995

WS2808071895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Aug 95 pp 1, 11

[Article by Ada Kostrz-Kostecka: "What Will Capital Privatization Be Like in 1995? Statistically Less; More in Terms of Money"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The revenues on capital privatization projected at 1.5 billion zlotys [Z] for the current year will be attained and even exceeded," Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek told RZECZPOSPOLITA. The Ministry of Privatization will allot the surplus on capital privatization to deficits elsewhere—in the revenues on payments for share certificates in the National Investment Fund project, which was to net Z400 million for the budget.*

The statistics of capital privatization are more grim. Perhaps they will be improved by privatization via bids—thus far not practiced—and the sales of shares of companies which are co-owned by the State Treasury following bank settlement procedures.

Projects provide for the sales of over 50 companies to strategic investors and 10-12 public bids.

Minister Kaczmarek holds an interesting opinion on the plans the Korean concern Daewoo has for investing in the FSO car plant in Warsaw. "The privatization of FSO is a huge mystery to me," says W. Kaczmarek. "The minister of industry signs a letter of intent and plans to privatize the plant. The privatization law provides for only one path without a bid—employee leasing. On what premises was the letter of intent signed?"

What will be privatized in the nearest future?

The privatization of the Warsaw-based Hefra, Chemorozruch, and Chemobudowa [presumably factories] is in the final stage. Two breweries are to be privatized soon—in Wroclaw and in Glubczyce. Potential investors currently hold exclusive rights to negotiations—one week in the case of the former and two weeks in the latter. The minister claims there was huge interest in the privatization of the Piast brewery in Wroclaw—the majority of bids came from Polish companies, but there were several foreign offers as well. There was little interest in the Glubczyce brewery.

The breweries in Tychy and Lezajsk are currently inviting bids for privatization advisers. There are substantiated fears that these transactions may not be finalized before the end of this year. Both breweries will launch privatization by announcing a public invitation to negotiations. The Ministry has thus abandoned the thought of a tie-in transaction, that is having the Lech brewery from Poznan take over the shares of the Tychy brewery in exchange for allowing the State Treasury to take over the shares of Lech in raised share capital.

Out of the huge breweries, only Sierpc still remains to be privatized. Minister Kaczmarek claims he is consistently against employee ownership because he considers this to be an economically unproductive privatization method. Considering the situation on the market, this should be either capital privatization or the establishment of a mixed capital company, which would raise the brewery's capital.

Tobacco—Thursday Memos

By Thursday at the latest the ministry is to send out memorandums to the 18-19 potential investors in the tobacco sector that have been selected in the first stage from among more than 20 applicants. Investors are to submit their offers within two months. These offers will be considered final, which means exclusivity rights to enter negotiations will not be extended and the best offers for each of the privatized companies will be selected immediately.

There were two huge ceramics plants in Poland: one in Kolo, privatized by the capital method, the other in Krasnystaw. "We are disappointed with the offers submitted for the plant in Krasnystaw," says Minister Kaczmarek. "I think we will repeat the bid."

"I was also surprised by the small number of applications submitted for the privatization of a plant in another sector, namely the Light Metal Plant in Kety, where the deadline for submitting offers has just expired. We thought more would be willing to own that company," says W. Kaczmarek.

In another sector, the soda industry where huge deals are expected (the Janikosoda and Soda Matwy plants), preliminary privatization studies have only just begun. A public invitation to a bid might be announced before year's end.

The Phosphate Fertilizer Plant in Gdansk will probably be privatized by the end of the year (a potential investor currently has exclusive rights to negotiations).

Tough Cases

The cement plant in Ozarow is a difficult one to privatize. According to the minister, an unfavorable atmosphere for privatization was created there.

"I think we are on the right path towards relieving the tensions. The employee representation should only calmly hear and consider information about the investment and the social benefits the Cement Polski holding is making."

The second difficult case is the privatization of Fael, in Swiebodzice, where the management board "disobeyed" the investor who made the best offer by refusing to negotiate. Minister Kaczmarek says the owner must make the company pay the consequences.

The third case is that of PAFAWAG [State Railroad Car Factory], which has to make the Polish State Railroads specify what it is to produce before it can complete privatization.

Daily Examines Iliescu's Coming U.S. Visit

AU2708143595 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Alina Mungiu Pippidi: "East European Positions—Realpolitik"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The greatly successful offensive of the Croats—an utmost paradox: another war is necessary to revive peace that seemed dead—can only sanction the fact that not even Europe—our part of it—can evade the laws that govern Iraq or Rwanda and that are completely different from the laws that operate in the smaller part of the world, namely in the civilized Western world. Having learned from the success of the Bosnian Serbs, the Croats understood that the only negotiations that might have a chance of success is to ask for something you had already achieved. This is not a new lesson: at the end of World War I, when we were treated in the same manner of "realpolitik" by the big powers, we applied it with great success, occupying the Romanian territories before they were finally "granted" to us through the peace conference. One would not have reached the current situation of the Croat offensive if the West had not showed us for three years how impotent it can become when somebody does not play according to the rules and when it is not in the interest of any of the big powers that morality be observed. For three years, day after day, the Bosnian Serbs defeated at our borders not the Bosnian Government, but rather the idea of a West as international mediator, the idea of a West that is ready to make sacrifices to reestablish the legal and moral order in the world. This defeat, triumphantly described in the Romanian national communist papers, dangerously affects us too and places the position of the pro-Western minority of the Romanian intellectuals and of the political class in an unpleasant situation, a position that is shaky as it is. One can add to all this the string of international "successes," which in fact are just belated recognition of the current regime, a tendency that has started about one and half years ago and that is seriously analyzed in one of the recent month's issues of a former Free Europe magazine, the TRANSITION. The last one in this string is certainly the fact that President Iliescu will be received at the White House in a couple of weeks.

The fact itself has received and continues to receive limited attention in the Romanian mass media. This is justifiably so in the democratic one, because the fact that Iliescu, after five years, finally manages to be received in Washington is not a "success" of diplomacy but rather a success of patience. But it is also a success of "realpolitik." Can one ignore infinitely a president who has been in power for five years and has chances to stay in power for another period of five years? Likewise, this issue has received a limited attention in the progovernment media because it is still not clear who is going to give in during the Washington visit: could it be that the price of the visit is to give up the government coalition? The nationalist parties, which anyway are complaining about the PDSR's [Social Democracy Party of Romania] aggression—that it attracts their people for lack of other means to acquire new members—do not know whether they should be happy or not. Somehow a more violent reaction has been noticed only in connection with the news about the embargo violation, due to the—unrealistic—assumption that the fact that Romania is violating the embargo can discredit it badly in the eyes of the international community and might also harm the president's visit. These fears are greatly exaggerated. First of all, because we are too low in the eyes of the West to have room to fall further down so spectacularly. Second, because taking into consideration what happened in the former Yugoslavia, the evident impotence of the international community toward people who make no bones about terrorism, show that our government, an open sympathizer of the post-Yugoslav national- communism, can also afford a small thing such as a few hundred metric tonnes of fuel. In any event, there is not a soul who does not know that, in the past two years, TAROM [Romanian Airlines] has been turned into a company that serves the Serbs rather than the Romanians. The International Court in the Hague started an action against Karadzic and Mladic as war criminals; however, Western diplomats continue to negotiate with the leader of Bosnian Serbs. Slobodan Milosevic, elected president as a result of a Hitler-type campaign, at the time when the Americans were looking somewhere else and failed to read even the reports of their own ambassador in Belgrade, has become the only hope, the only possible mediator for settling peace in Bosnia (at the beginning of their career, both Hitler and Mussolini were successively posing as guarantors of each other in the eyes of the international community. For years on end the European diplomacy believed that the only way to settle with one of them is to request the other one to intervene.) Therefore, those who say cynically that the West can do nothing against us, unfortunately, are right. A few excuses and amiable measures are enough to prevent damaging the president's visit to Washington.

On the other hand, the governmental press makes a mistake assessing this visit as a great success of the Romanian diplomacy. Nothing of the sort. The visit only means a defeat of the opposition, but even that is not new, except that for the first time it is made official in Washington. According to all signs received from the State Department, a change of regime in Romania is not very likely: the regime is stable. The variation of boycotting Romania up to the victory of the democratic opposition has been dropped: the chances of the opposition to win decisively the future elections are extremely poor. The only way to deal with the situation is to negotiate with the current regime, maybe it would accept turning the opposition from the greatest public enemy into a partner, and in this way replace the nationalist parties which cause anxiety in Washington.

The Americans do not know or it is difficult for them to believe that this partnership, even if it becomes more attainable in a year than today, will be just a formal one, because a national-socialist government in no way can cooperate with the opposition which is partly anticommunist and partly liberal. In any event, the fact that Romania's president will be received in Washington means only that the time granted to the opposition to achieve a change has run out. Washington must take into account reality.

A few days ago, the ASSOCIATED PRESS had a great idea to compile President Clinton's statements made in one year regarding Bosnia. The effect is spectacularly comical: sometimes the statements are contradicting each other only three days apart. Therefore, it would be a mistake to interpret anything that Bill Clinton is going to tell Ion Iliescu in September, when he is going to shake two fingers with Iliescu, in any other way than as basic protocol without any importance, and it would be a mistake to build great theories and scenarios on those remarks, considering that even Clinton's chances of being reelected are pretty low. The visit to Washington is significant only for the opposition, not because of the relations with the United States—which in fact are excellent—but because it means a forecast for next year's elections and, at the same time, the mark in the test of political performance in the past five years. It also shows, even for those who still have illusions, that a Milosevic in Romania (on pretext of Transylvania), would not be followed by the West landing in the Balkans to save democracy. No matter how kindly we are regarded, in our efforts to build democracy, eventually we are as lonely as the Bosnian Government in Sarajevo among the hills filled with Serb snipers. And that is why we have to act with even greater responsibility.

PD Urges Iliescu To Help Solve Wheat Crisis

AU2708180795 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 16 Aug 95 p 3

[Letter to President Ion Iliescu signed by Democratic Party leader Petre Roman: "President Iliescu Is Called Upon To Intervene in the Wheat Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Mr. President,

Along with my colleagues in the Democratic Party [PD] leadership, I believe it is my duty to inform you—even by presenting the essence of the issue—about the serious and dramatic data and facts forwarded by an impressive number of peasants during my recent meetings with them in various villages in almost all counties of our country. The situation is so serious that no prejudice, antipathy, or personal and group interests, or any other such "millstone" in the current political and social life, should obstruct the path of finding urgent and responsible solutions to what has entered the public's mind as "the wheat crisis."

However, I am duty bound to tell you openly and in good faith that the peasants, the agricultural producers, are deeply concerned that you—who have been discussing and continue to discuss frequently some economic and social matters such as privatization, financial blockage, exports, and imports of goods or certain aspects regarding global problems of mankind, literary-artistic heritage etc.—have not deemed it necessary to take a stand on the immense difficulties faced by them in selling this year's wheat crops.

Probably the great majority of the agricultural producers have not had the opportunity to read your interview published on 3 August 1995, in which you express the view—in agreement with the government's position at that time—that the act of the state purchasing the entire crop has nothing to do with market economy.

A state of uncertainty and suspicion is still prevailing in villages, even after the government, under pressure by the population and as a result of political actions launched by the Democratic Party and other formations included in the opposition, suddenly changed its attitude and promised that the entire crop for this year offered by producers will be purchased. However, things do not work like that. In the territories, the purchase is rejected, all kind of pressure is being applied on the producers not to rush with the sale of wheat (a recommendation also voiced by the minister of agriculture), bribery is demanded even for the purchase of certain quantities intended for storage, and the advance money as well as the money due for what has been agreed upon in the contract is overdue.

Therefore, we permit ourselves to turn to you with the request that, within the limit of your constitutional prerogatives, you involve yourself in the act of solving the very serious situation that has been created in agriculture and, subsequently, in the social-economic life of the entire country. The social stability is threatened due to the fact that the peasants' ownership of the land is endangered, an ownership that has been so eagerly awaited and finally achieved after the [1989] revolution. The purchase of corn and sunflower is also threatened and the resumption of the appropriate agricultural cycle due in the fall is uncertain. A rapid and real—not propagandistic—elimination of these threats is the only and genuine sense of the appeal with which we turn to you. Any other interpretation would be ill-willed and contrary to our intentions. As proof of our constructive position, we attach to this letter the concrete program of solutions that we suggest to the government, aimed at solving the current situation of crisis and creating premises for a real revival of agriculture.

We assure you that the Democratic Party will be—the way it has been so far—a partner in a political dialogue and in responsible political actions, in accordance with the interests of our country's population and with our national interest.

With great respect,[signed] Petre Roman14 August 1995

Acceptance Into CEFTA Group Reported

AU2708200595 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Ilija Marinkovic: "Slovenia Accepted Into CEFTA"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 18 Aug—The Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and Slovak trade ministers today decided to grant Slovenia the status of permanent member of the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA). Slovenia is going to be officially accepted at the meeting of the prime ministers of the Visegrad Group that will be held in Brno on 10 and 11 September and at which the CEFTA founding act will also be amended.

With the amendments adopted at today's ministerial meeting in Warsaw, Article 39 of the founding act will be amended. This means that CEFTA will become open to all countries on the territory of Central and East Europe. Polish experts will prepare all of the necessary documents to help the acceptance of Slovenia and send them to the trade ministers, who will initial them and include them in the agenda of the prime ministers' meeting in Brno.

"Slovenia is thereby paving the way for other countries that would like to join CEFTA," Janko Dezelak, Slovene minister for economic relations and development, said. "I think that experts have been given sufficient time to coordinate annexes and other documents until the September meeting in Brno. I believe that the Warsaw meeting is the last one at which Slovenia would have had observer status." [passage omitted]

The Slovene delegation, which included Minister Janko Dezelak, Bojan Grobovsek, Slovene ambassador in Warsaw, State Secretary Vojka Ravbar, and State Under Secretary Jozef Drofenik, also met Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy today.

Federal

Deputy Foreign Minister Ends U.S. Visit

LD2608122895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1204 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, Aug 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Zivadin Jovanovic Friday evening ended his visit to Washington where he attended the memorial service for the three U.S. diplomats recently killed in Bosnia.

During his stay in Washington Jovanovic had a series of meetings with high officials of European countries, including representatives of countries members of the international Contact Group for the former Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic had interesting and meaningful talks with U.N. and European Union mediators for the former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg and Carl Bildt and high officials of Italy, Britain and France.

American-Yugoslav talks at the level of heads of political departments were held in the State Department yesterday. The talks were attended on the U.S. side by Chris Hill, the newly appointed member of the U.S. negotiating team for the former Yugoslavia and Clinton's representative in the Contact Group, and on the Yugoslav side by the head of the Political Department at the Foreign Affairs Ministry Milisav Pajic.

Talks were conducted in a correct atmosphere and dealt with the peace process in the former Yugoslavia as well as some questions relating to bilateral relations, TANJUG learns.

Jovanovic also had a series of meetings with representatives of the media.

On Thursday he was the guest of THE WASHINGTON POST where he spoke about the cirisis in the former Yugoslavia, the peace policy of Serbia and of its president and the position of the U.S. media towards events in Yugoslavia, and talked with the editorial staff of the most influential U.S. paper.

According to well informed sources that followed the Yugoslav delegation's visit to Washington these could be the first signs of the U.S. policy adopting a more balanced stand regarding the Yugoslav crisis, its causes and its present development.

The same sources said that Jovanovic's stay in the U.S. served as a sort of close-up promotion of the Yugoslav policy and a contribution to its better understanding.

Siradovic Views Cooperation Talks With Russia

AU2508193095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 95

[Interview with FRY Trade Minister Djordje Siradovic by Marija Mitrovic in Belgrade on 25 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Siradovic] There is no doubt that this visit was marked by a very positive and friendly atmosphere in which we found complete understanding on the Russian side and their readiness to talk openly and very constructively about all key issues concerning trade and economic cooperation. There is no doubt that such an atmosphere is the result of a positive climate in relations between the two countries, which in turn resulted from the recent visit by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Moscow and his talks with CIS President Boris Yeltsin.

We were told very clearly that the recent statement by President Yeltsin on Russia's readiness to consider unilateral lifting of the sanctions against the FRY if some Western countries continue to conduct a policy of double standards toward the FRY is a very serious statement.

[Mitrovic] Concrete agreements were reached during the talks.

[Siradovic] The CIS Government has decided to firmly demand immediately from the Sanctions Committee that the deliveries of natural gas continue because, as they said themselves, this gas is Russian, and the decision on the halt to the gas deliveries cannot be made without Russia.

We also initiated other important issues, primarily the issue of long-term export of Yugoslav wheat and corn, of which we have a surplus, into Russia, and the long-term import of oil into the FRY. The agreement on the construction of the southern part of the gas line is ready to be signed, a gas line that will enter Yugoslavia—that is, Serbia—via Bulgaria, so this will be an alternate source on top of what we already have.

Minister Comments on Refugee Resettlement Issues

LD2708163395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Aug. 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister Without Portfolio Margit Savovic said Sunday that the tragedy of the Serb people of Krajina seems to have been made to measure for certain countries to interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and continue efforts to internationalize the allegedly bad position of minorities in Yugoslavia.

Commenting on allegations that settling refugees in Serbia's provinces of Kosovo and Metohija and of Vojvodina would disturb the local ethnic structure, Savovic told the radio in the town of Kragujevac in central Serbia that refugees had to be settled where places could be found for their longer or temporary stay.

"The territory of Serbia is unique and indivisible, and we need not explain to anyone where we shall settle the 150,000 newly arrived people," underscored Savovic, who is in charge of human and minority rights.

Following Croatia's aggression on northern and southern parts of the republic of Serb Krajina on Aug. 4, 250,000 Serbs were forced to leave their ancestral lands in Krajina and seek refuge in the neighboring Bosnian Serb republic and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Claims that the idea is to change the ethnic structure of certain regions in Serbia are ridiculous because the number of refugees settled in certain places is such that it cannot affect the ethnic structure, she said.

Savovic described as "murky" a statement by Ferenc Cubele, president of the Hungarian Alliance in Vojvodina, at a press conference in Budapest that Yugoslav Army officers had ordered Krajina Serbs to flee and come to Vojvodina in order to move into houses of Croats and Hungarians.

"Do the refugees really look like agents sent to do something like that, when they were bombed on the way and hardly made it to Yugoslavia?" she asked, underscoring that "there is no question of certain places or houses being taken over."

There have been individual incidents of that kind, but the authorities always reacted energetically, Yugoslav Minister Savovic concluded.

Serbia

Official Seeks Aid for Krajina Serb Refugees

LD2508163495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 25 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—Serbia's commissioner's office for refugees appealed on Friday to international humanitarian organizations and governments of European and other countries to help provide aid to displaced civilians from the Republic of Serb Krajina. Among the refugees, the most vulnerable are women, children, the old and the ill.

The appeal, signed by Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina, states that over 155,000 Serbs expelled from Krajina as a result of Croatia's aggression on innocent civilian population have arrived in Serbia so far.

Facing such large-sale influx of displaced persons after four years of U.N. sanctions, during which it has already provided shelter to over 500,000 refugees, Serbia appeals for emergency aid in providing accommodation for over 50,000 homeless families, including over 35,000 children and old or sick people, Morina said.

Pointing out that aid from international organizations and donors is needed immediately in order to prevent worse consequences later and to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees, Morina underlined that the most urgently needed items at present were food, medicines, hygiene products, clothing, housing, school equipment and products for children.

Belgrade Radio Commentary on Krajina 'Drama'

AU2708170195 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This is what a Belgrade Radio commentary says: In the center of Belgrade a few days ago, the gentlemen of the leadership of the expelled and, one would also say, deceived people of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, tried to explain to the Yugoslav and world public that only one man and these warmongering assistants of his are to blame for the Krajina drama. They said so and left, convinced that they have achieved their aim, cleansed themselves of the blemish and shame, promising their expelled and decimated people to return them again, albeit not to their homes, but the burned down remains there.

The leadership, that of the assembly or Milan Babic's government, was neither consulted nor informed about the Krajina president's intention of ordering the people to perform an act unprecedented in their long history. Thus, they said so and offered an alleged corpus delicti: President Milan Martic's order about the people's withdrawal and its suffering.

This truly unreasonable act was preceded by, whether we accept it or not, a too long introduction. Let us for a moment recall the way Krajina Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic was overthrown and replaced, or—perhaps that is even better—the course of the Geneva negotiations or the talks about accepting the Vance plan for Krajina. The still living participant in all this and former chairman of the Krajina parliament, Mr. Rajko Lezajic, now says that he had no idea about the real intentions of his president who, as he put it, should be tried for grand treason. And, to make the wonder still greater, immediately after that, he concludes that there has been no rift in the Serb Krajina leadership, not even between him and Milan Martic.

In the recent events, immediately preceding the upset of the already former Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic — whose option was a peaceful solution to the Krajina issue, the most active person was the Krajina assembly chairman himself. And now, for war mongering he accuses Milan Martic alone.

The fall of western Slavonia perhaps meant little to the Krajina assembly chairman. Not a single bullet of defense was fired from the territory of the Serbian Republic, where Radovan Karadzic's forces were deployed, although such an obligation existed in the wake of forming the joint military council. We suppose that Chairman Lezajic has not forgotten that it is his very signature that footed the decision to form the joint military council. For Mr. Lezajic, there was no reason for a rift with Milan Martic even when, at the time of the attack on western Slavonia, his president moved the most elite unit from Okucani to a place where it was threatened with liquidation.

It is a strange and certainly painful option chosen by Lezajic and his clique if it is known—and it indeed is known—that the decision to interrupt negotiations on economic cooperation with Croatia was, among others, initialed by him as well. How is it possible that nobody knew about the decision made by their president Martic, when Croatia had been announcing the aggression for days and the time and date standing on the proffered corpus delicti clearly show that it was certainly known in advance that this would happen soon. The next question is what the Krajina government and parliament did to prevent the drama there from happening and to provide the people with a more secure place from which they could defend their century-old homes.

Perhaps the answer should be given—albeit honestly—by Krajina Assembly Chairman Mr. Rajko Lezajic himself, the deputies, and everybody who supported such a policy, it is said in the Belgrade Radio commentary.

Renewal Movement: U.S. Plan Must Be Accepted

LD2708135195 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1309 GMT 27 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 27 (TANJUG)—An end to the tragedy of war in the territory of former Yugoslavia and the lifting of the international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are the primary task and obligation, said Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, an opposition party in Serbia.

In an interview to the Sunday edition of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, Draskovic said the U.S. peace project, which is backed by the other powers, members of the 'Contact Group,' should be accepted as soon as possible.

Draskovic underscored that no-one in Pale (the seat of the Bosnian Serb Republic) should be allowed to reject the peace proposal.

It should be made clear to the international community that peace is what the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia firmly believes in, but that it is not obliged to watch passively Croatia's aggression on the remaining part of the Republic of Serb Krajina, the Bosnian Serb Republic, or the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Draskovic said.

He said Croatian President Franjo Tudjman should be marked before the whole world as the biggest opponent to peace and the side which will be the aggressor in the event of a general Serbo-Croatian war, and therefore proclaimed the guilty party in the eyes of the world.

Tudjman should not be permitted to hide behind stupid actions by Serbs, such as the shellings of Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Gorazde, Draskovic said.

'Serbia must now simply tie the hands and tongues of our extremists and fools,' the Serbian Renewal Movement president said.

An end to the war would open wide the door to a democratic, economic and spiritual revival of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, which would immediately be reflected on the standard of their citizens.

The establishment of a Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia and a confederation between that federation and Croatia seemingly and temporarily creates a greater Croatia, Draskovic said.

Seemingly, because Tudjman's creation which is increasingly becoming tainted with Nazism, will soon become a black spot in Europe and the world. Temporarily, because the crimes over the Knin Krajina wasteland are a painful reminder to Muslims of what they can expect in their marriage with Tudjman, Draskovic explained.

It is the duty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia energetically to rise up against any legalization of ethnic cleansing operations, because an international verification of these crimes would mean that Adolf Hitler and his Nazi exponent in the independent state of

Croatia Ante Pavelic had won the Second World War, Draskovic said.

'I am certain that such an initiative on our side would be welcomed throughout the world and that Tudjman would be the only one who would oppose it,' Draskovic concluded in his interview to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA.

RSK Leadership's Inability To Consolidate Viewed

AU2708132395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 p 10

[Article by Milan Bunjac: "Where Are 3.5 Million German Marks?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While in the wake of the Krajina catastrophe, columns of refugees are slowly moving from one place to another or desperately awaiting their further fate in sport or factory halls, and while captured civilians or soldiers are languishing in Croatian camps or jails, the Krajina leadership is persistently keeping silent, as if it does not share their destiny. The fear of being called to account, as well as the struggle for survival on the remains of the former stage and crumbs of erstwhile privileges, have overpowered the sense of duty and obligation that the position which they are in requires. With the fall of Knin, longtime symbol of Serbianhood and the Serbian resistance to Zagreb, everything has (un)expectantly dispersed as a castle in the air.

Even half a month after the Krajina catastrophe, the political leadership has not been able to consolidate. Babic's government has met officially only once, and perhaps a couple of times unofficially and not in its full membership. Except for ensured continuation of schooling for schoolchildren and students, other problems have not been more seriously considered, nor are there any discernible solutions for them. Even the decision on the cessation of the mobilization for male citizens of Krajina has not been implemented, which is evidenced by many arrests and forced rounding up of Army conscripts in the centers in Bijeljina, Erdut, or Manjaca.

Search for the Missing

The Krajina political leadership so far has not started any serious action to keep the record on the civilians or soldiers taken prisoners and left to the mercy of the vengeful Croatian authorities and care of international humanitarian organizations. A great confusion among the Krajina refugees who are able to watch television has been caused by the performance of a MUP [Interior Ministry] Krajina representative in a news broadcast of Radio-Television Serbia, who stated on behalf of the crisis staff of Kordun, that civilians, having been previously rounded up in Topusko and Glina, after the negotiations and surrender by a part of the troops of the Kordun corps, had passed the Croatian border without problems. However, many Krajina families that are scattered throughout Serbia are still searching for their missing members, who are believed to be still stuck somewhere in Croatia. In addition to the search for civilians from refugee convoys, there is another category of people about whom nothing is known, except for the information released by the International Committee of Red Cross [ICRC] that they are still in Croatian Army jails. Babic's ministers, for the most part, are not performing their functions, except for the foreign minister to a degree, who has been issuing statements from which the current position and further political moves of the Krajina cabinet cannot be discerned. Unofficially, it is increasingly believed that it is necessary to contact representatives of the Croatian authority and diplomats of the countries capable of exerting pressure on Zagreb. The topic of possible negotiations could be, in the first place, the status of the abandoned Serbian property in Krajina, and after that possibilities for the return of those Serbs who would want that, and of whom, according to the assertion of Milivoj Vojnovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, there are many.

Without Report

The Krajina political leadership has not engaged itself in analyzing the causes of the defeat. True, at the meeting of the government held later last week in Bijeljina, in addition to President Martic there were the commander of the General Staff of the Serbian Army of Krajina, Mile Mrksic, and General Mile Novakovic. This topic was only touched upon in the discussion, and the entire responsibility was squeezed in Mrksic's announcement that "he could resign, if that would be necessary," even though he had not ordered withdrawal.

At the same meeting there was not a single report on either the situation in refugees camps, or the deserted equipment and arms, nor movable property of state-owned firms and the government of Krajina. It was only stated that in the treasury of Krajina's central bank 3.5 million German marks [DM] in DM1,000 bills had remained, which, due to the fuss about the key of the safe, nobody had been able to take with him. A part of the means from the Krajina budget that is deposited in the Serbian Republic is blocked at the moment, but ways are being considered to place those means at the government's disposal again. Also, the Oil Industries of Krajina did not submit any report, even though great quantities of oil and oil derivatives had remained in its reservoirs in Krajina, that were nonetheless inaccessible to the refugees for their tractors or cars as the refugee convoy moved through Kordun and Banija.

Calls To Account Increasingly Frequent

Because of all this, as well as other problems which the Krajina Serb refugees are facing, the atmosphere in refugee centers and generally among the Krajina Serbs, who have been accommodated in various ways, is rather unfavorable. The people are disorientated, partly due to the confusing relations within the Krajina leadership, and partly due to the conviction promulgated by the official media that a great part of the responsibility for the tragedy of Krajina lies precisely with the people themselves and their leadership. The Krajina people, however, are more and more vociferously protesting and showing their concern, because they feel abandoned by their own leadership, as well as by the centers of power in Serbia, which have had a decisive influence on the fate of Krajina. One can hear more and more demands that the Serbian and Yugoslav top officials be called to account, some of them directly and some indirectly being involved in everything that has been happening in Krajina in the past five years. That such considerations and atmosphere about it has caused concern among the representatives of the Krajina Government is evidenced by the address of its foreign minister to the Krajina Serbs over Radio Kragujevac, with a sort of warning that one should restrain from any verbal condemnation of the Serbian Government for the tragedy of Krajina, because the fate of the Krajina refugees is now in the hands of Serbia and its citizens, who are doing all they can to help the refugees.

With Milan Martic definitely siding with Karadzic, and Babic's ministers trying not to drift too far away from Belgrade's official course, the Serbian people are patiently enduring their tragedy and, politically disoriented, awaiting the announced conference on former Yugoslavia scheduled for September, with a great hope that it will produce a new guideline for the future on that level at least.

Montenegro

Assembly Ends Session; No Proposals Passed

LD2608231495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2249 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin assembly ended its special session in Podgorica this evening, after four days of work. The conclusions on a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, which were expected to be endorsed, failed to materialize.

The heads of the deputies' groups of all opposition parties, which put forward the conclusions, failed to agree on a final version, so Svetozar Marovic, president of the assembly, said that no discussion could be held about a document that did not exist.

The People's Party [Dragan Soc] said that the opposition did not manage to agree on two new proposals that were to be part of the original text. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Rugova Hails U.S. 'Concern' Over Serb Refugees

AU2608191595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Once again, we demand an immediate halt of the installation of Serb refugees from Croatia in Kosova," said the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, at a press conference in Prishtina [Pristina] today. The current situation in Kosova is characterized by the systematic and daily repression on the one side, and by the installation of refugees, which increases the already high tensions, on the other side, Dr. Rugova added. He also said that the Serbian authorities aim a permanent settlement of refugees as they have been promised farm-land, permanent jobs, and other opportunities. Therefore, they will no longer be treated as refugees but rather as colonists, because they serve the colonization of Kosova, President Rugova stressed out, and demanded that the refugees be settled in Serbia, where plenty of land and housing is available. "It is clear that most of the refugees are not willing to settle in Kosova as they know that Kosova faces its own problems and is under permanent repression and violence," Dr. Rugova said. He pointed out that all that is being done in order to destabilize the situation and in order to bring more pressure on the Albanians.

Amid reports on the preparation of the Serbian regime to allocate farm-land to Serb settlers, President Rugova warned that the land was not a state property but it belonged to the so-called cooperatives established in the aftermath of the World War II through the confiscation of land belonging to the Kosova citizens. "Kosova was inhabited by the Albanians since the ancient times—Kingdom of Dardania within the Illyrian Kingdom. Afterwards it was one of the Roman provinces. Whereas, during the Byzantium Age, Middle Ages, and through the Ottoman Empire, Kosova was a separate entity with a distinct identity," said President Rugova, commenting on some renewed manipulations with the history and the Serbian myth on Kosova. Monasteries and churches in Kosova were originally Albanian, later taken over by the Serbs who destroyed a large number of Albanian catholic churches. Albanians were and still are of both Catholic and Orthodox faith. In Ulpiana, an ancient town near Prishtina, we have the first martyrs of Christianity, Dr. Rugova said. He warned that all the manipulation with the historical and cultural monuments and remains in Kosova is done for it is very rich in natural resources. Kosova has always been overwhelmingly inhabited by Albanians, he said.

Continuing, President Rugova hailed United States and German Governments for expressing their concern for the installation of Serb refugees in Kosova and for demanding halt of this process, as well as the request by Ms. Emma Bonino, EU humanitarian affair commissioner, for halting the settlement of refugees into Kosova. President Rugova also hailed the U.S. Senate majority leader Bob Dole's letter to President Clinton urging for linking sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro with the solution of the Kosova issue.

President Rugova told the reporters that repression in Kosova continued unabated, taking mention of many cases of police harassment, ill-treatment, and discrimination in all domains of life. He repeated his call for an immediate release of all political prisoners, and said that "best solution to the Kosova issue is an independent and neutral state with open borders to both Albanian and Serbia." He said that Kosova must be included in a global solution to the problems in former Yugoslavia.

Asked by a reporter if the Kosova issue was included in the American plan for the solution of the crisis in the Balkans, President Rugova said that the American plan aims, in the first place, an end to the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. Nevertheless, the problem of Kosova is included in this initiative, which unfortunately, suffered a short interruption, because of the tragical accident near Sarajevo in which three American diplomats, peace missionaries, died.

President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova also commented some other developments in Kosova and in the region.

Rugova Demands 'Better Organization' of Parties

AU2608202495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting with the representatives of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] branches, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova demanded better organization of the political and state subjects in Kosova, which should reflect the situation and react depending on the circumstances that are created. Here is a report by our correspondent Mehmet Haziri from Prishtina [Pristina]:

[Haziri] A communique broadcast by the Kosova Information Center cites Chairman Rugova as pointing out at the meeting that the Serbian regime is increasing its systematic repression against the forms of organization and action of Albanians on the one hand, while on the other hand it is attempting to install as many Serbian refugees from Croatia as possible, with the aim of colonizing Kosova. Thus, to face this situation, apart from the campaign of violently bringing Serbian colonists to Kosova, Chairman Rugova demanded better organization of the political and state subjects in Kosova, which should reflect the situation and react depending on the circumstances created.

The reaction by the international community, especially that of the United States and several European countries, against some Serbian aims to colonize Kosova was another concrete testimony that the international community and several neighboring countries are aware of the danger of the war being escalated to the south of the Balkans, if something happens in Kosova, Dr. Rugova stressed.

Rugova said that the diplomatic circles, state institutions, and various initiatives, including the U.S. one, are discussing the Kosova issue and seeking possibilities to resolve it in a just and peaceful way.

Recalling that the solution to the Kosova issue depends on the proportion of forces and the international political circumstances, Chairman Rugova said that the Kosova leadership insists on a global principle of resolving problems in the former Yugoslavia, including Kosova as well.

The international community is actually interested in seeing that the war in Bosnia and Croatia comes to an end and that the conflict not extend to the south of the Balkans, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, said at the meeting with the representatives of the LDK branches.

Rugova: Settlement of Serbian Refugees 'Provocation'

AU2708135295 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 26 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Ibrahim Rugova, "president of the Kosovo Albanians," by Gerald Knaus in Pristina; date not given: "Settlement of Serbian Refugees Is Dangerous for Kosovo Albanians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Knaus] Several years ago, many in the West warned that a possible war in Yugoslavia might start in Kosovo. Can the present situation in Kosovo remain as it is in the next few years?

[Rugova] We must continue our violence-free policy. Every alternative would have tragic consequences for the Albanian majority. In spite of all of the existing problems, I trust the international community, and the majority of the population supports this policy. Nobody else can help us.

[Knaus] Has Belgrade's policy, aimed at changing the ethnic structures of the Kosovo by settling Serbs there, failed?

[Rugova] This is part of a very old idea to colonialize Kosovo. I understand the tragedy of the refugees, but they are being manipulated. Belgrade spoke of 20,000 or more. The specific figures are not yet known. There seem to be between 2,000 and 3,000 at the moment. Yet for us this is dangerous.

Kosovo is one of the most densely populated areas in Europe. Moreover, the refugees are people who lived with weapons for many years, in a war situation. There have been some cases in Pizren of refugees provoking Albanians.

[Knaus] Is the refusal by the refugees not a setback for the Serbs? The refugees do not consider Kosovo a real Yugoslav region.

[Rugova] So far, no refugees have come here voluntarily—neither from Slovenia, Croatia, nor Bosnia. They know that Kosovo is an Albanian region. They are coming against their will.

[Knaus] Isn't there an increasing number of intellectuals in Belgrade who consider Kosovo lost for Serbia?

[Rugova] This is a good sign among some Serbian intellectuals because, in the past, all of them supported the regime. However, these are very isolated signs. Very few say that Kosovo is lost and that talks must be held with the Albanians.

[Knaus] What do you think of fears that Serbia might plan a division of Kosovo? The Albanians could keep the poor regions, and the rest would belong to Serbia.

[Rugova] This is also a very old idea that dates back to the end of WWI. Two years ago, former President Dobrica Cosic presented this idea. For us it is unacceptable, as it is also for the West.

[Knaus] Do you think there might be provocations that offer Belgrade an opportunity to implement this idea?

[Rugova] So far, we have not reacted to any provocations. We are being provoked every day. Repression is some kind of provocation. The settlement of the refugees is another provocation. Yet we are helpless. If Belgrade wants to realize this plan, it is able to do so.

[Knaus] You represent a movement for independence. In the West, the future of Kosovo is being seen within Yugoslavia.

[Rugova] I have submitted a proposal that provides for an independent civilian government under an international protectorate, and a demilitarized Kosovo.

[Knaus] What should the West do to facilitate a solution in Kosovo?

[Rugova] One must link the lifting of sanctions to the Kosovo issue. That is what we hope.

Official: 6,000 Serb Krajina Refugees Received

LD2508171195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 25 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—By today, about 6,000 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina have arrived in Kosovo, Milos Nesovic, deputy head of the Kosovo district stated today. In a statement for Radio Pristina, Nesovic said the reception and care of the refugees is proceeding in an organized way. He added that a certain degree of resistance on the part of the Krajina refugees to being sent to Kosovo has been overcome. According to him, many of the refugees are now aware of the fact that some other parts of Serbia are unable to offer the accommodation, care, and employment they find in Kosovo.

"I believe that Kosovo-Metohija offers the refugees the best conditions for their care, and possibly, if they so desire, for their permanent residence," Nesovic said.

Number of Refugees Settled in Province Increasing

AU2608185495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Telephone report by Ramadan Mucolli from Prishtina]

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of Serbian refugees from Krajina who are being installed in Kosovo is increasing from day to day. However, the Serbian information media that possess such exact data avoid further publishing them, particularly in cases with the highest figures.

The newspaper JEDINSTVO reports that 45 refugees were brought to Viti [Vitina] yesterday and were settled in the Park Hotel in Banje in Gllogovc [Glogovac]. The paper reports that the number of refugees to be settled in Skenderaj has been predetermined. A couple from Petringje was offered a job there. The same paper reports on the settlement of 32 refugees in Gotovusht village in Shterce commune and at the resort house of the Elektro-Kosovo in Drazovi.

Meanwhile, reports about new refugee installments in other communes in Kosovo keep coming to the Kosovo Information Center. Some 20 Serb refugees were settled today in two elementary school buildings of Miradi e Eperme village in Fushe Kosovo commune, while several refugees were individually settled at the commune center.

Reports from Kacanik note the settlement of 70 new refugees. Some 45 of them, who arrived yesterday, were sheltered in the elementary school building in Kacanik i Vjeter village, while 25 others who arrived this morning were settled in the Kalaja Hotel. It is also reported that new refugees were installed in Mitrovice [Mitrovica], Decan [Decani], and Nente Jugovicet village near Prishtina.

On the other hand, the violent Serb administrators in the Kosovo communes continue to promise lands, jobs, and other conditions for a cozy life to new Serb colonists. They also take part of the monthly salary from workers here in the name of humanitarian aid for the refugees.

Despite this, there has been information that the Krajina Serbs further object to being installed in Kosovo. A feature in NASA BORBA reports on a squabble between the police and the families who were given tickets to go to Kosovo. Does Milosevic perhaps think we will safeguard Kosovo, a refugee has asked.

Information published in the Serbian press notes that the greatest number of refugees are being installed in the environments where the majority are Albanians. This clearly expresses the Belgrade regime aims to change the ethnic structure in Kosovo to the detriment of Albanians and in favor of the Serbs.

Albanians Say Hundreds of Serb Refugees Arriving

AU2508202895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite warnings by numerous international organizations, the United States, Germany, and several Balkan countries, the Serbian regime continues to bring colonists into Kosova. The daily bulletin of the Kosova Information Center reports hundreds of Serbian refugees being settled in various parts of Kosova. Yesterday alone, 100 Serb refugees were settled in Banje in Peje [Pec] near Istog [Istok].

Arable Land Being Allocated to Refugees

AU2608164495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 95

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] Refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina are still arriving in Kosovo-Metohija. Some of them arrived in the most remote Kosovo-Metohija municipalities. Ten families who arrived in Kosovska Vitina were accommodated in the Hotel Park near Klokot Banja. As the municipal authorities claim, all capable people will be given employment. Three (?men) have already been employed in Klokot Banja. Kosovska Vitina authorities have decided to give two hectares of arable land each to families who want to deal in farming. The situation in Vucitrn is similar; according to Branko Stolic, president of the municipality, about 3,000 refugees can be permanently accommodated there. There are 100 buildings on the territory of the municipality that could, with little investment, be converted into flats for refugees. Municipal authorities are ready to allocate about 300 hectares of state-owned land to refugees. The Standard Construction Firm of Istok has ensured employment for all who found refuge in this municipality. This firm is ready to convert a large number of buildings into flats for refugees. A family has found refuge in the Srbica Municipality.

The province has sufficient capacity to accommodate refugees, but almost all municipal reception staffs say that they lack beds, blankets, and mattresses. Appeals are sent daily to citizens and firms to respond to humanitarian actions of collecting food, clothing, footwear, and items for personel hygiene.

Serbian Refugees Cannot Be Persuaded To Stay

AU2608152595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Last evening, a bus with Serb refugees left the town of Prizren heading towards Serbia, LDK [The Democratic League of Kosovo] Information Commission in Prizren reported. As reported, some 60 Serbs refugees had gathered yesterday afternoon at the railway station in Prizren demanding to be resettled somewhere to Serbia. The Serbian authorities apparently could not persuade them to stay in Kosova by promising them wealth and ample incentives. Sources in Prizren reported that around 50 Serb refugees also walked out of a camp in Prizren on Wednesday and reportedly went to Ruma (Serbia). Reports from other regions of Kosova say that individuals or smaller groups of Serb refugees accommodated in Kosova have either walked out of camps or have been attempting to do so.

The Belgrade-based NASA BORBA reported today that the Serbian regime has been making all the efforts to distribute Serb refugees from Krajina throughout Serbia, including Kosova. The newspaper, however, reminds that Serbs have been refusing to be sent to Kosova, illustrating it with the case of Kragujevac when the Serbian police had intervened brutally to "persuade" refugees to go to Kosova. NASA BORBA says that some 120 Serbs were not "persuaded" but were sent to the town of Knic (central Serbia).

Reports from Kosova regions indicate that the number of Serb refugees brought to Kosova over last night and today is not as high as during the previous days. LDK Information in Peje [Pec] reported that last night some 100 Serb refuges reached Peje. They were reportedly accommodated in the hostels of a spa in the vicinity of the town. According to the statements of Serbian authorities, some 5,000 Serb refugees from Croatia have already been stationed in Kosova.

Serb Police 'Increased' Control Over Podujevo

AU2608181195 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 26 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Kosovo Information Center reports that the Serbian police today have increased their control and supervision over the town of Podujeve [Podujevo]. There are no reports on the pretext of the demonstration of the police force, but it is known that the Serbian police convoy that came from Prishtina [Pristina] was made up of three armored cars and other police vehicles, which obstructed the citizens on the market day.

It is also reported that the police have continued raids in various districts in Kosovo under the pretext of searching for weapons, as well as other forms of repression.

Serbian Army Continues Attacks on Albanians

AU2508202995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 25 Aug 95

[Telephone report by Mehmet Haziri from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian Army stationed in the town of Ferizaj [Urosevac] is continuing further provocations against Albanians. [Word indistinct] from semiautomatic rifles fell on some homes on Prizreni Street, which caused concern and insecurity among the families.

A report by the Information Commission of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] in this town states that LDK Presidency member Ram Buja visited several of these families and was informed in detail about the situation created in Ferizaj following the latest Serbian Army provocations. The reason none of the members of these families were wounded was that, at the time the shells were fired, they were working in the fields.

Serbian security men, who arrived at the scene of the incident and behaved with cynicism, gathered around 30 [word indistinct].

The LDK representatives in Ferizaj and those of the Subcouncil for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms stress that such provocations by Serbian soldiers and reservists have notably increased with the latest resumption of the Croat-Serb war.

Thus, following provocations and shells near the homes of Albanians living in Prizreni Street on 22 August, shots were also fired near the military barracks on 24 August. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Serbian army and police have so far given no explanation.

Following the police actions under the pretext of searching for weapons in several villages in Prishtina [Pristina], Gllogovc [Glogovac], Vushtrri [Vucitrn], Viti [Vitina], Podujeve [Podujevo], Obilisht [Obilic], Suhareke [Suva Reka], and Prizren, the Serbian Army's successive provocations recently noted in Ferizaj are sufficient signals for the Albanian population to increase vigilance and stay away from the fire that the Belgrade regime is insanely trying to ignite.

Serb Police Raid Albanian Homes, Detain Activists

AU2708140495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No. 686 on 21 August carries several reports on Serbian police raids on Albanian schools in Pristina, as well as on the daily repression against Albanians.

It is reported that, on 18 August, the Serbian police raided the premises of a primary school in Pristina. The Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) Information Commission reported that the police interfered in a meeting organized by the school authorities with pupils' parents, where they were to discuss the possibilities of renovating the school building. The police arrested three school teachers and four parents. They were all released after a two-hour interrogation but were ordered to report to the police station again.

Another reports notes that, on 18 August, unidentified individuals in Urosevac placed notices on the town walls calling for Serbian citizens to "join Arkan and his band in a fight to liberate the alleged Serbian territories in Croatia." LDK sources report that the notice, which carried a photograph of Arkan with his "tigers," read: "Serbia is calling for revenge!"

It is also reported that, on 16 August, the Serbian police stationed in Glogovac arrested the vice chairman of the local Education Funding Council, who was taken to the police station and "interrogated about his educational and political activities for over six hours." On 15 August, the Serbian police summoned the chairman of the local Education Funding Council. LDK sources report that, in connection with "alleged possession of arms," the Serbian police on 17 August summoned two Albanian brothers and their cousin to "report" to the police station in Urosevac. Sources note that they were subject to "physical torture" and suffered "grave body injuries" and had to seek medical treatment afterwards.

It is reported that, over the past week, the Serbian police stationed in Lipljan "have undertaken a vast campaign of raids against the Albanian families in this municipality." The police reportedly summoned a dozen Albanians and the local LDK vice chairman. The Serbian police also arrested the LDK chairman in Babush village and his son.

It is noted that the Serbian police raided many Albanian homes in Glogovac village in Lipljan. Sources in Malisevo say that, on 16 and 17 August, the Serbian police stationed in Orahovac raided the homes of two Albanians in Carralluk and Shkoz villages and summoned them to report to the police station and hand over weapons they allegedly possessed. On 17 August, the Serbian police in Podujevo raided the homes of two Albanians at Doberdol village under the pretext of "arms searches." Reports from Vucitrn say that the Serbian police arrested the secondary school principal in Vucitrn, who was "immediately taken to prison" to serve a 30-day jail sentence. LDK sources report that, under the charge of "conducting illegal educational activities," the principal has been sentenced to 15 days twice this year. Under the pretext of "alleged arms possession," on 16 August the Serbian police in Istok detained five Albanians from Sudenice village.

Report No. 688 of 23 August states that, on 20 August, the Serbian police in Suva Reka detained two Albanians and took them to the police station in Suva Reka, where they were apprehended for "over four hours" and "were beaten up severely." On 19 August, the Serbian police stationed in Suva Reka arrested a resident in Mushtisht village, who was taken to the police station in the village and was beaten up severely for no reason. On the morning of 22 August, the Serbian police in Mitrovica raided the home of an Albanian resident in Shipol under the pretext of "arms searches" and arrested him and his son, although "no weapons" were found during the search. They were both held at the police station for hours and were reportedly subjected to police torture.

Report No. 689 of 24 August says that the Serbian police this morning interrogated the vice chairman of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosova for "over two hours." Reports note that he was "cross-examined" on trade union activities.

On 23 August, the Serbian police arrested a photographer with the LDK Information Commission in Decan and raided his photo shop in Pec and his house in Decan. The Albanian is reported "still under arrest."

On 23 August, the Serbian police in Podujevo arrested an Albanian for "alleged possession of arms" and "tortured" him at the police station from 0700 to 1500, until he "fainted" and "had to seek medical treatment consequently." LDK sources report that, on 23 August, the Serbian police searched the home of an Albanian in Podujevo for "yet unknown reasons." Sources in Pec say that, on 20 August, the Serbian police stationed in Ozrim detained and humiliated many Albanians and ill-treated a resident from Bllagoje village. On 22 August, the Serbian police in Glogovac arrested a 46-year-old Albanian from Poklek i Ri village in connection with "alleged possession of arms." The Albanian was reportedly "severely tortured at the police station for over five hours" and was "consequently taken home" by the police in "very bad health condition."

'Drunk' Serb Soldiers Kill 22-Year-Old Albanian

AU2808102095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At approximately 1845 yesterday, Serbian soldiers shot dead 22-year-old Ymer Dervish Agushi, a resident of Gerqin village in Gjakove [Dakovica in Kosovo], near the border with Albania.

Referring to the Information Commission of the Democratic League of Kosova branch in Gjakove, the Kosova Information Center reports that the youth was fired on while he was working with some fellow villagers in an effort to rescue the village from flooding.

It is reported that the three soldiers were drunk and fired for no reason at all. After this act, the village was completely blocked by the Serbian Army.

Dervish Agushi is the 11th victim of Serbian state terror in Kosova this year.

Industrial Production Improves; Jobs for Refugees

LD2508163995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—In Kosovo-Metohija, industrial production in the first seven months of this year is 27.7 percent higher than in the same period last year, it was announced in Pristina today at a meeting of the coordination body for the economic recovery of the province. [passage omitted]

The possibility of employing refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina in Kosovo companies was also discussed at the meeting. It was estimated that there are more than 500 job vacancies for highly skilled workers, especially for machine engineers, electrical engineers, technicians, and workers with similar specialization, the statement says.

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